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BELGIAN SETTLERS, WALLOONS and FLEMINGS,
LANDED ON MANHATTAN ISLAND IN 1623 AND FOUNDED NEW YORK WHICH THEY CALLED NOVUM BELGIUM
JESPERS PINXIT
BRAQUENIE TEXIT

TAPESTRY OF THE FIRST BELGIAN SETTLERS ON MANHATTAN IN 1624

[Floris] Jespers pinxit
Braquenie texit

Presented by the Belgian Government through Foreign Minister Paul van Zeeland and New York City's 300th Anniversary Committee, 1953

THE NEW-YORK
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October 1953

VOLUME XXXVII NUMBER FOUR

New York: 170 Central Park West

TAPESTRY COMMEMORATING THE COMING OF THE BELGIANS TO MANHATTAN ISLAND

by PAUL VAN ZEELAND
Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs

The following address was delivered by His Excellency, M. Paul van Zeeland, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the unveiling and presentation of a twenty-foot Mechlin tapestry in the Society's Reading Room on the afternoon of September 22, 1953. Among his distinguished auditors were the Hon. Jacques de Thier, Belgian Consul General in New York, and Mme. de Thier; Baron J. A. de Vos van Steenwijk, Dutch Consul General in New York, and Baroness van Steenwijk; officials of the Belgian Government; members of New York City's 300th Anniversary Committee; and officers and trustees of this Society. President Fenwick Beekman, who presided, explained that His Excellency would transfer the tapestry to the chairman of New York City's 300th Anniversary Committee for presentation to the Society. Dr. Beekman then introduced M. van Zeeland, whose address follows.

MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is indeed a happy occasion that brings us together here today. It is my privilege, in the name of the Belgian Government and of the people of Belgium to reassert through the medium of a

significant work of art, conceived and executed in the best and age-old traditions of Belgian handicraft, a few historical facts. In those facts we take great pride because they prove that the cordial relations that exist between New York and Belgium have deep roots; actually they go down to the beginning of the 17th century, indeed to the year 1624. The tapestry recalls first and foremost a story of indomitable courage that took even the possibility of death in its stride.

Three centuries ago a small group of Walloons arrived on these shores to find a new home in freedom. They were people of modest origin mostly, but of great moral stamina, people who, although not actively persecuted or molested, felt that the atmosphere in which they lived did not allow them enough moral freedom to permit them to live and worship as they wanted. So they had the courage to give up the dear and familiar surroundings of their youth and their manhood and, after having found a temporary resting place in Holland, they ventured to a foreign land of which little was known.

What did they expect to find? They were not after easily acquired wealth, they did not expect an Eldorado, they did not dream of rich minerals or fabulous crops. They knew that life on Manhattan Island and along the Hudson Valley would be one of great effort and hard, continuous work. They would be practically isolated from the world and except for a few comforts brought along in their small ships, they would have to care for themselves in unfriendly surroundings. One thing they were certain to find: the ability to live as they chose according to the light of their convictions.

The names of the first eight Walloon settlers who took up permanent residence on Manhattan Island in 1624 are not definitely known but the small settlement grew rapidly and in 1625 there were already more than a hundred, whose names are known with certainty. They are good everyday names that still are popular in Hainaut and in the Walloon provinces of Belgium: De la Mot, Du Four, Le Ron, Le Roy, Du Pon, Cornille, De

Trou, Campion, Catoir, De Croy, Maton, etc. Actually, I feel personally moved when I pronounce those names before you, because I myself was born in a little town in Hainaut. I still know from my youth people bearing some of the very names I have just quoted. The souvenirs I am trying to evoke before you today are made alive by such links. Those first settlers conducted their services in French, listened to French preachers although all except a few had mastered Dutch, the language of the West India Company which had brought them here. It took quite some time before the massive influx of Dutch settlers absorbed the Walloon families.

In 1924, the part played by these Walloons in the original settlement of Manhattan Island was solemnly commemorated when the City of New York accepted the monument donated by the "Conseil Provincial du Hainaut" and which establishes these historical facts. On that occasion Mayor Hylan and Robert de Forest spoke on behalf of the City and on behalf of the descendants of the first settlers of Manhattan Island. The monument is still to be seen in Battery Park.

For centuries the art of tapestry weaving has been one of the most outstanding handicrafts in the Belgian provinces. During the late Middle Ages and also in the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of tapestries manufactured in Flemish cities, in Brussels and in Mechlin were shipped all over the world. They were one of the principal items of export of our country. Later, the craft as such entered a long period of decline.

In order to revive tapestry weaving, the Belgian Government commissioned the manufacture of four monumental tapestries destined to decorate the Belgian pavilion at the Paris World's Fair in 1937. The success which this official initiative encountered induced the Government to repeat the gesture with regard to the New York World's Fair of 1939. One of Belgium's prominent painters, Floris Jespers, was commissioned to make the cartoons, and three tapestry weavers from Brussels and Mechlin were entrusted with the execution of the tapestries.

This official encouragement gave a new impetus to the handicraft and since then a number of private institutions and individuals have followed the example given by the Government.

Since 1624 a great number of Belgians have come to New York. Most of them were looking for a new life, which they found to their satisfaction. But twice in the course of this century, when our country was invaded, groups of Belgians found a haven in this hospitable and big-hearted city. Like the Walloons of 1624 they found freedom here.

When the late and lamented King Albert arrived here in 1919 he said, addressing the Municipal Council: "I think that in the history of the world there is no other example than New York which, born only three centuries ago, has become in that short space one of the centers of universal activity." Since these words were spoken, the power and the vitality of this city have ever increased and so has its spiritual and artistic radiation in the world. In such a gigantic and complex metropolis, the memory of those who were at its origin should not be lost. There is the monument at the Battery and from now on, there will be, I hope for the enjoyment of all New Yorkers and of the thousands of visitors of this Museum, this Belgian Tapestry, a thing of beauty which hereby, Mr. Chairman, I have the honor and the pleasure to transfer to you.

The magnificent tapestry was then unveiled to the applause of those present, whereupon President Beekman introduced Mr. Lee Thompson Smith, Chairman of New York City's 300th Anniversary Committee, who responded to M. van Zeeland's address as follows:

Mr. van Zeeland:

As president of New York City's 300th Anniversary Committee, I have been taking part in many interesting ceremonies during the past months, but this pleasurable occasion is unique in several respects. The purpose of our Committee has been to bring about a better understanding of New

York City, its history and its contributions to progress during the past three centuries. The generous action of the Belgian government in presenting this beautiful tapestry suggests that others appreciate the place of New York in the larger scheme of things and are perhaps more conscious of our history than most New Yorkers.

It would be presumptuous for me, before this audience and in this treasure house of local history, to dwell on the part played by Belgians in the early beginnings of this community. From the earliest days this seems

PETER MINUIT PURCHASING MANHATTAN, 1626

Diorama at Museum of the City of New York

to have been destined to become a world city. New Netherland and New Amsterdam were Dutch, but from material drawn from this storehouse of history, we learn that it was Mercator, from near Antwerp, who first put America on a map. Henry Hudson was British. It was William Usselinx, a Fleming, who organized the West India Company, and it was Jesse de Forest, a Belgian Walloon, who organized the first band of colonists to come to Manhattan Island, which was bought from the Indians in 1626 by Peter Minuit, another Belgian.

We are proud of the monument to the Walloon settlers who came over on the *Nieu Nederlandt*, which stands in Battery Park, near the spot where they landed in 1624. And we are proud of the men and women of Belgian descent who have since contributed so largely to the development of what is now New York City, as well as to the country as a whole.

This magnificent tapestry, depicting the landing of those early Wal-

loons on the tip of Manhattan, is symbolic of the fine feeling that has ever prevailed between the peoples of Belgium and those of this city and country. In peace and war the Belgians have always represented the qualities that typify Western civilization at its best. Their national character has won the admiration of the world. And today, when there is so much confusion, we find Belgium in the forefront of those forces making for social and economic stability, and world peace.

Many of us have seen this tapestry before when it was placed in the Hall of Honor at the New York World's Fair. Incidentally, it was a Belgian-born engineer, Joseph F. Shadgen, who conceived that World's Fair. He was inspired by his young daughter who had learned at school that the first inauguration of George Washington and the setting up of the Federal Government had taken place in New York and suggested that the 150th anniversary called for a celebration. So we owe more to Belgians than we realize. We owe much to them for their contributions to art, and this work before you, conceived by Floris Jespers, typifies a renaissance of the ancient art and craft of weaving. We have here, then, a gracious gift that is at once a work of art, an historic memento, and an outstanding example of Belgian craftsmanship and enterprise. Best of all, woven through the picture are the bright threads of warm friendship that have always existed, and will always exist, between the Belgian people and the people of New York City.

Mr. Smith then turned to President Beekman and formally transferred the custodianship of the tapestry to the Society. He said:

President Beekman:

This beautiful gift from the government of Belgium is too precious to remain in my hands. I know of no more appropriate place for this gift than in this wonderful institution over which you stand guard. Therefore, as president of the 300th Anniversary Committee I am pleased to present the generous gift to The New-York Historical Society to be preserved and displayed to the public for the pleasure and edification of this and future generations, and as a continuing reminder of the part played by Belgians in the development of New York City.

President Beekman, having risen at these remarks, accepted the gift on behalf of the Society, promising that it would be well cared for and would be displayed in our halls for all to see as a constant reminder of the City's debt to its earliest Belgian settlers and of the lasting friendship between our two peoples.

CEREMONY OF PRESENTATION IN THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY, SEPT. 22, 1953

His Excellency, Paul van Zeeland, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Lee Thompson Smith, Chairman, New York City's 300th Anniversary Committee
Dr. Fenwick Beekman, President, The New-York Historical Society
Hon. Jacques de Thier, Belgian Consul General in New York City

H.R.H. THE PRINCESS VICTORIA WITH PENCIL AND SKETCH BOOK

From the painting by her drawing-master, Richard Westall, R. A., *c.* 1830

THE PRINCESS AND *THE BRAVO*

A PLEASANT PASSAGE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

by DAVID H. WALLACE*

SO ACCUSTOMED are we to picture Queen Victoria as a tight-lipped old lady who was "not amused" that it is hard to imagine her as she was in the days before her accession—an enthusiastic teen-ager with all her generation's delight in singing operatic duets, collecting autographs and sketching anything from prima donnas to landscapes. The music, of course, has long since died away, but art fortunately is long and many of Victoria's sketches remain to illustrate her early enthusiasms.

The sketch which we reproduce on page 325, though it scarcely bears out her drawing master's reputed statement that Victoria could have been one of the best woman artists of her day had she gone on studying, should be of particular interest to Americans, both for its subject and for the story behind it. Based on a scene from an American novel, James Fenimore Cooper's *The Bravo*,[1] the drawing was made in 1836 as a farewell gift from the princess to Mrs. Aaron Vail, wife of the American Chargé

* Mr. Wallace, assistant editor of The New-York Historical Society, recently returned from a year's study at the University of Edinburgh (Scotland) and is at present working for his M.A. degree at Columbia University. For permission to use previously unpublished documents in their possession and for their generous hospitality both at Geneva (Switzerland) and at Quiberon (France), he wishes to acknowledge his debt to Dr. and Mme. Jacques de Bon. He is also indebted to Dr. James F. Beard, Jr. of Dartmouth College for permission to quote from several letters of James Fenimore Cooper, an edition of whose correspondence is currently being prepared by Dr. Beard.

[1] *The Bravo*, first of Cooper's so-called social novels, was published in 1831. Although censured by some American critics because its scene was 15th-century Venice, the novel was described by Cooper as "perhaps in spirit the most American book I ever wrote." His famous *Letter to His Countrymen* was in part a defense of this book, whose purpose was, in Cooper's words, "to lay bare the wrongs that are endured by the weak, when power is the exclusive property of the strong; the tendency of all exclusion to heartlessness; the irresponsible and ruthless movement of an aristocracy; the manner in which the selfish and wicked profit by its facilities, and in which even the good become the passive instruments of its soulless power." (J. Fenimore Cooper, *A Letter to His Countrymen*. New York: 1834, p. 13.)

d'Affaires in London from 1832 to 1836.[2] Carefully preserved in the Vail family for over a century, it is here reproduced for the first time by gracious permission of the present owner, Madame J. de Bon-Bradshaw of Geneva (Switzerland), grand-daughter of Aaron and Emilie (Salles) Vail.

For the genesis of the story behind Victoria's gift we must go back almost three years to the autumn of 1833, when Aaron Vail first called at Kensington Palace, the home of the Duchess of Kent and her fourteen-year-old daughter, the Princess Victoria. Always on the alert for opportunities of fostering good relations between the public figures of his own country and Great Britain, Vail found at Kensington Palace just such an opportunity when he discovered that the young princess was collecting autographs of distinguished men of all nations. Himself a collector, the diplomat cheerfully undertook to use his good offices to procure for Victoria's collection the autographs of some of his most noted countrymen. "It affords me great pleasure," Vail later wrote on a similar occasion, "to be made the channel of this interchange of friendly sentiments between the public men of two countries having so many claims upon each other's friendship, because in discharging this pleasing duty, I permit myself to indulge the belief that, though in an humble way, I am effectually con-

[2] Born in 1796 at Lorient (France), where his father was U. S. Consul during the Napoleonic Wars, Aaron Vail came to America about 1815 and for the next fifteen years held a number of clerkships in the Treasury and State Departments. In 1831 he accompanied Martin Van Buren to London as his Secretary of Legation. On Van Buren's rejection by the Senate the following January, Vail unexpectedly found himself charged with the conduct of his country's affairs in Great Britain. The President's difficulties with the Senate continuing, it was four years before a new Minister was appointed, and during this time Vail served, to the full satisfaction of the State Department and the President, as Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at the premier court of Europe. Relieved in July 1836 by Andrew Stevenson, Vail returned to Washington the following year and subsequently served as President Van Buren's special agent to the Canadian Government during the Rebellion of 1838, as Chief Clerk of the State Department from 1838 to 1840, and finally as Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid from 1840 to 1842. The election of 1840 having closed the door to his further advancement in the foreign service, Vail retired in 1842 and spent the rest of his long life as a private citizen in New York City, Geneva (Switzerland) and Pau (France), where he died in 1878. In 1835 Vail married Emilie Salles of New York City and Paris, whose elder sister Julia had some years earlier married Vail's elder brother Eugène, author of an undeservedly neglected early history of American literature: *De la Littérature et des Hommes de Lettres des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris: 1841).

MRS. AARON VAIL (1818–1860)

AARON VAIL (1796–1878)

Portraits, *c.* 1835, in the possession of their granddaughter

Mme. J. de Bon-Bradshaw, Geneva, Switzerland

tributing to give extension and permanency to the satisfactory footing upon which their relations are at present established."[3]

The distinctly diplomatic character of Vail's initial efforts on the princess's behalf is apparent from a letter to Vice-President Van Buren, concerning Victoria's desire for the autograph of President Jackson. "I have written to the President about it," Vail told the Vice-President; "but as it may escape him in the mass of business pressing upon him, if you could refresh his mind on the subject, it would afford him an opportunity of saying something complimentary to the young lady, who may remember it when she comes to be the Sovereign of these Realms."[4] Whether Andrew Jackson shared Vail's faith in the utility of the proceeding or whether he merely shared the world's sympathy for a girl "situated as mortal seldom was," the President did in the end exchange courtesies with the Princess Victoria and is

[3] Aaron Vail to Sir Robert Peel, London, May 19, 1835 (British Museum, Add. MSS. 40420, F.178). Vail was referring to an exchange of courtesies he had brought about between President Jackson and the English statesmen, Peel and Wellington.

[4] Aaron Vail to Martin Van Buren, London, May 22, 1834 (Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress, on microfilm at Columbia University).

said to have followed her later career with friendly interest.

Nor was Andrew Jackson the only American statesman to pay his respects to the future queen through the medium of the indefatigable Aaron Vail. Evidently commissioned by the princess to procure for her autographs of all the Presidents, Vail wrote in 1834 to both of the living ex-Presidents, James Madison and John Quincy Adams. Madison, whom Vail had known in Washington, responded promptly, presenting his regards to the princess along with his regrets that rheumatism and old age had impaired his hand.[5] Adams also responded handsomely with his father's, as well as his own, autograph, despite the strong dislike for the House of Hanover which had earlier led him to characterize one of its most illustrious members (George IV) as "a Falstaff without the wit and a Prince Henry without the compunctions."[6] These presidential autographs, and possibly others (though Vail informed Madison he was having difficulty in obtaining those of Jefferson and Monroe), are presumably to be found in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle.

But Vail's most thoroughly successful venture in calligraphic diplomacy came the following year, when he approached the novelist Cooper on behalf of his "interesting client." Although it was only fifteen years since an English critic had dismissed the writers of the New World with a scornful "Who reads an American Book?" the future queen was apparently well acquainted with the works of Cooper, as well as with those of his compatriot, Washington Irving. Unfortunately, Victoria's comments on Cooper, if indeed she ever made any, are not recorded, though it is likely she felt about Cooper's romantic novels much as she did about Irving's romantic *Tales from the Alhambra:* "It is a most entertaining book," she informed her diary, "and has

[5] James Madison to Aaron Vail, Montpelier (Va.), February 3, 1834 (Vail Autographs, unmounted; cited by permission of Madame J. de Bon-Bradshaw, Geneva, Switzerland).

[6] J. Q. Adams to A. Vail, May 30, August 30, and September 24, 1834 (Vail Autographs, Vol. II, pp. 19 and 97; cited by permission of Madame J. de Bon-Bradshaw, Geneva, Switzerland). The quotation is from *The Diary of John Quincy Adams* (Allan Nevins, ed., N.Y., 1951), under date of May 14, 1817 (p. 183).

amused me very much."[7] It was more than a generation that separated Victoria from her grandfather, George the Third.

On learning of the princess's latest desire, Vail wrote at once to Cooper, though with a hesitation which suggests that he was not unfamiliar with the author's reputation for touchiness.[8]

London, 17th Feby., 1835

Dear Sir,

Though my personal acquaintance with you is too slight to authorize my asking a favor for myself, I feel that I may venture on asking one for a person who may be thought to have some claim to your notice. The young Princess Victoria is desirous of adding to her collection of Autographs those of some of our distinguished Countrymen, and has named you as one of those whose handwriting she is anxious to possess. I have promised my agency in endeavoring to procure one, and trust that for the sake of my interesting client you will be disposed to pardon the liberty I take of making her wish known to you.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect,
Your Obedt. Svt.
A. Vail

Cooper rose to the occasion splendidly. Though he had little affection for the English nation and its aristocratic form of government, he did have considerable sympathy for the hapless individuals whose fate it was to reign, but not rule, over the British Empire. Cooper had, in fact, that very year embodied his views on the British monarchy in his satire *The Monikins*, under the thin disguise of a description of the monkey kingdom of Leaphigh:

It would appear [*he had written*] that the Leaphighers, while they obey only the king's eldest first cousin of the masculine gender [*i.e.*, the Prime Minister], perform all their official acts in the name of the sovereign himself, for whose person and character they pretty uniformly express the profoundest veneration; just as we men express admiration for a virtue that we never practise.[9]

[7] *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Diaries between the Years 1832 and 1840* (Viscount Esher, ed., New York and London, 1912.), under date of September 5, 1835 (Vol. I, p. 132).

[8] A. Vail to J. Fenimore Cooper, London, February 17, 1835, in *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, (J. F. Cooper, ed., New Haven, 1922), pp. 347–348. Quoted by permission of the Cooper family.

[9] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Monikins* (New York: 1873), p. 223.

Sensing the lonely, almost tragic, destiny of this child who was born to be an "isolated abstraction," Cooper went out of his way to make a generous gesture which deserves to be recorded to his honor.

Cooper's hitherto unpublished reply to Vail's letter is here given in its entirety:[10]

St. Martin's Place, New York
April 12th 1835

Dear Sir,

Your letter has just reached me, and I very cheerfully send you the autograph you request. Your own application would have obtained much more than this trifle, but I cannot hesitate a moment in answering that of the Princess.

There are two sorts of autographs, the every day and the holy day. The latter are ordinarily sent on these occasions, but I have taken the liberty to present myself to Her Royal Highness, republican as I am, in my working clothes. In other words I send a rough manuscript precisely as it was written, and which contains a chapter of The Bravo. The work in question was written in this manner by myself and then copied by a secretary. The copy was corrected again by myself, and then it passed into the hands of the printers. The sheets were subjected to another correction, and the result was the book. Now it is more than probable that the work will differ materially from this manuscript, but they who take the trouble to compare them will have an opportunity of getting an insight into the secrets of authorship.

I have written my name on one of the pages, and this I suppose is all that is necessary. You know how far it will be proper for me to say any thing on this occasion, or whether I ought to appear at all in the affair— if I ought, I beg you will do me the favor to say how much pleasure I have in doing any thing to oblige the Princess Victoria, and to make an offering of the sheet, with my respects.

I would have selected something better of the sort, had it been in my power, but really it is not. Nearly all of my manuscripts have been destroyed, having little value, and I do not happen to own even a copy of The Bravo to compare this sheet with the printed book, for I am not quite sure that it stands in the book as it is written. Occasionally a chapter was written in this manner and cancelled for its imperfections, or owing to some change of plan. At all events such as it is, what I send was written with the intention of being a part of the book, and it may be more curious as a cancelled chapter than as a true one.[11]

[10] J. Fenimore Cooper to A. Vail, New York City, April 12, 1835 (Vail Autographs, Vol. II, p. 4; quoted by permission of Madame J. de Bon-Bradshaw, Geneva, Switzerland, and of the Cooper family).

[11] A fragment of the manuscript sent to the princess, evidently presented by her to Aaron Vail, is preserved in the Vail collection of autographs (Vol. II, p. 4). From

We are impatiently waiting the decision of the chambers on our treaty.[12] The elections are all coming in very favorably to the administration, and there is little doubt that the new congress will sustain the President should the indemnity be rejected, or should the letter of the Treaty be disregarded in any serious point. I think a war would yet be the result of a refusal to allow the interest that is already accrued, for, we contend for a principle and not for the money, in this unfortunate business.

With much respect, I remain, dear Sir

Yours,

J. Fenimore Cooper

I ought to have said that my brother-in-law the Rev. Dr. De Lancey, the late provost of the University of Pennsylvania kindly takes charge of this, and I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities.[13]

A. Vail Esquire
&c &c

Six weeks later Dr. De Lancey delivered his brother-in-law's letter to the Chargé d'Affaires in London, who the very next day dashed off a note of grateful acknowledgment to Fenimore Cooper:[14]

London, 22nd May 1835

My dear Sir,

I had the honor of receiving yesterday your very kind letter of the 12th of last month, with a sheet of your MS of *The Bravo*, as an auto-

this it appears that the sheets sent by Cooper appeared, with only minor changes, as Chapter IV in the second volume of the first American edition of *The Bravo* (Philadelphia: 1831).

[12] Cooper here refers to the treaty of 1831 between the United States and France, whereby France had agreed to pay the American claims which had grown out of the wholesale spoliations of American commerce during the wars following the French Revolution. A year before Cooper wrote, the French Chambers had refused to authorize the first payment and Jackson had laid the matter before Congress in a peppery message. When the Chambers did agree to the payment in 1835, their consent was conditioned on Jackson's apology for his strong language, which the President refused, on principle. By the end of the year diplomatic relations between France and America were suspended and war seemed imminent. Cooler counsels prevailed in the end, however, and the deadlock was broken by the friendly mediation of Great Britain, in which Aaron Vail played a part. See Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (3rd edition, New York, 1947), pp. 199–204.

[13] William Heathcote De Lancey (1797–1865), brother of Susan Augusta (De Lancey) Cooper, was Provost of the University of Pennsylvania from 1828 to 1833, and from 1839 until his death Episcopal Bishop of Western New York (*DAB*).

[14] A. Vail to J. Fenimore Cooper, London, May 22, 1835, in *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper* (J. F. Cooper, ed., New Haven, 1922), p. 348; quoted by permission of the Cooper family.

graph from you for the Princess Victoria. There can be no doubt that if anything could add to the value of the gift, it will be the choice you have made of a paper so well calculated to enhance it in her eyes. It will initiate her, as you say, in the mysteries of authorship, and very agreeably carry her mind back to the pages of a book of which she and her mother have spoken in language which shows that the labors of its author are no stranger to them. I will take an early opportunity of delivering it; and know that I can beforehand assure you of the gratification it will afford my interesting client, as I do of my very great esteem and respect.

A. Vail

J. Fenimore Cooper, Esq., New York

Since the manuscript was apparently delivered to Victoria by Aaron Vail personally, there is no record of her immediate response, but it needs no great exercise of the imagination to appreciate the sixteen-year-old princess's pleasure at Cooper's imaginative and thoughtful gift. And as the prime mover in the affair, Vail was not left unrewarded for his efforts on Victoria's behalf. Early in January 1836 the Duchess of Kent sent her own autograph, as well as those of her daughter and the King and Queen of the Belgians, with warm assurances of her gratitude for the attention Vail had paid to the desires of the Princess Victoria.[15]

Victoria's own gratitude, however, was most eloquently shown by her presentation to Vail's wife of the sketch from *The Bravo*, reproduced in these pages. Although the sketch had apparently been promised during the spring, it was only a day or two before Mr. and Mrs. Vail's final departure from England toward the end of July 1836 that the expected packet arrived from Kensington Palace, accompanied by a gracious note from the Duchess of Kent, by her secretary, John Conroy, who wrote:[16]

My dear Sir,

The Duchess of Kent lays Her command on me, to hasten to present to Mrs. Vail, the accompanying sketch, which the Princess Victoria has

[15] John Conroy (for the Duchess of Kent) to A. Vail, Kensington Palace, January 17, 1836 (Vail Autographs, Vol. II, p. 17; cited by permission of Madame J. de Bon-Bradshaw, Geneva, Switzerland).

[16] John Conroy to A. Vail, Kensington Palace, July 20, 1836 (Vail Autographs, Vol. I, p. 1; quoted by permission of Madame J. de Bon-Bradshaw, Geneva, Switzerland).

SKETCH BY THE PRINCESS VICTORIA ILLUSTRATING COOPER'S "THE BRAVO"
Presented by her to Mrs. Aaron Vail, July 20, 1836
Courtesy of Mme. J. de Bon-Bradshaw, Geneva, Switzerland

had the greatest pleasure in making for her—and Her Royal Highness regrets, that the time has been too short to allow Her to compose and execute a sketch more deserving Mrs. Vail's acceptance—and the subject.

Believe me always, my dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
JOHN CONROY

Kensington Palace
20th July 1836
A. Vail Esq.

Deserving or not, Victoria's engaging illustration of an American novel was duly accepted by Emilie Vail and accorded the honor of first place in her album of autographs. There it has remained to the present day, a charming reminder of Aaron Vail's not unfruitful efforts to give "extension and permanency" to the gradual knitting together of the two great English-speaking nations.

SANTA CLAUS (ST. NICHOLAS)
by Robert W. Weir
West Point, 1837

Above: the preliminary watercolor, owned by Brig. Gen. Avery D. Andrews

Left: the finished oil, gift to the Society in 1951 by Mr. George A. Zabriskie

[For a color reproduction of this painting see *NYHS Quarterly*, Oct. 1951, frontis.]

AN ENCORE FOR SANTA CLAUS

by R. W. G. Vail

THOSE OF YOU who have long memories may recall the story of Robert W. Weir's painting of Santa Claus which appeared a couple of years ago in our *Quarterly*—the story of how Clement C. Moore's famous poem: *The Night Before Christmas* inspired a well-known artist on the faculty of West Point to paint a picture of Santa Claus for the delectation of his two small boys and how the painting finally came into the possession of our Society. Now it seems that there was a little girl mixed up in the narrative too and it is her account of the affair which we are about to tell.

One of the artist's neighbors in Professors' Row at the Point was W. H. C. Bartlett, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and his little daughter Harriet was, of course, a playmate of Professor Weir's two youngsters and a frequent visitor to the artist's studio. One day early in 1837, when she was four years old, Harriet was sitting on a little stool where she could watch the artist at work. She had probably heard him read the lovely poem about the Christmas visit of the jolly Saint and so sat spellbound as the magic brush of the painter brought to life on the canvas the fireplace with its blue Dutch tiles, its brass andirons and the figure of Santa Claus himself just as he was about to vanish up the chimney. This preliminary watercolor sketch so delighted the little girl that, when the larger and more elaborate oil painting had been developed from it, the original sketch was given to Harriet for her very own and was treasured ever after and handed down in her family, together with its story, to the present time.

Harriet grew up at the Point where her father continued as a professor for 35 years and it was natural that, in the course of time, she came to know one of the young instructors who worked as his assistant, Lieutenant John M. Schofield who later became a

Lieutenant General. They were finally married and had an only daughter, Mary C. Schofield. She also grew up in the military tradition and met, perhaps at one of the balls at the Point, Lieutenant Avery D. Andrews whom she married in 1888, the year of her mother's death. The painting of Saint Nicholas, with its story, descended to her and when she died became the property of her husband who, after a distinguished military and civil career, is still living in Florida, a retired Brigadier General, at the age of eighty-nine.

Having finished the preliminary watercolor, Weir set about the more serious work of elaborating it in oils and, when it was completed, seems to have painted a replica of it for he wrote as follows to his friend the distinguished author and legislator, Honorable Gulian C. Verplanck:

West Point Feby. 21st 1837

My dear Sir

I have just finished a painting of St. Nic[h]olas, representing him, after having filled various stockings attached to the mantle-piece, just taking his departure up the chimney. As I think it is one of the best things I have done, and may at some time or other publish a print from it, I would like either yourself or Mr. Ward[1] to possess it in order that it might remain with my friends. Perhaps Mr. Ward would prefer it to the landscape I have in hand for him, and which has turned out to me so unfortunate. The price will be the same viz. $200. If, however, neither Mr. Ward nor yourself care about having it, I would then like to offer it to Mr. Gilman of Baltimore, or to Mr. Curtis of Boston both of which gentlemen have expressed the wish to have another picture of mine added to the two they each possess. I will send the picture down to you by the first opportunity, which I hope will be soon. Mr. Ward has been very kind to me, and if he should fancy the picture, I pray you let him have it. I have owed him much for a long time, and have in consequence felt severely, but without the power to extricate myself. . . .

Yours very truly,

Robert W. Weir[2]

[1] Samuel Ward (1786-1839), New York banker and art collector with a picture gallery in his house, corner of Broadway and Bond Street. Coming from a distinguished Rhode Island family, he was the father of Julia Ward Howe and grandfather of F. Marion Crawford, Laura E. (Howe) Richards, and Maud (Howe) Elliott, all distinguished authors.

[2] Ms. letter in the Gulian C. Verplanck papers (8 boxes of correspondence and 4 boxes of miscellaneous papers, *c.* 1830–*c.* 1870) at The New-York Historical Society.

Mr. Ward, in 1836, was one of the founders of Stuyvesant Institute which was copied after the Boston Athenaeum and which held a loan exhibition of paintings on November 19, 1838. The printed catalogue, no. 122, describes Weir's Saint Nicholas as "owned by Mr. Ward of the Committee," so we can be sure that Mr. Verplanck was successful in interesting Weir's patron in buying his latest canvas. The painting is said to have descended through his daughter Julia Ward Howe to her daughter Maud Howe Elliott. Since the artist still owned the original oil painting of Saint Nicholas which was exhibited as his property at the National Academy of Design Exhibition between April 21 and July 4, 1837, later owned by Gouverneur Kemble in 1937, and now by this Society, it is still uncertain what became of the Samuel Ward replica or that owned by Robert Weir in 1894.

Since it is interesting to watch the development of a theme on canvas just as it is in the changing manuscript of a poem or a story, we are showing a reproduction, through the courtesy of General Andrews, of Weir's original sketch which he gave to Harriet and with it the finished painting now in our collection as well as a copy of the replica of 1846 taken from the Christmas card published by Robert Weir of Cohoes, New York in 1894, the latter reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Harry Shaw Newman.

A close observer will discover many minor changes and improvements and there were others not apparent in the black and white reproductions, for in the original sketch Santa Claus' suit is red and his cloak yellow while in the final painting the suit is dark brown and the cloak the red with which we are familiar in all later representations of Saint Nick. The coat of arms of New York above the fireplace is also greatly improved in the later painting and a tipped-over stool has been added in the lower left corner to fill an awkward blank space in the composition and balance the slipper in the lower right corner. Also, the switches for bad children have been added on the Saint's pack and the

REPLICA OF WEIR'S SANTA CLAUS, OR ST. NICHOLAS

Signed *R. W. W. 1846* and lithographed for Robert Weir, 1894

Reproduced by courtesy of The Old Print Shop

crucifix, which does not appear in the preliminary sketch, is shown in the painting swinging from his belt. The coloring, too, is much more vivid in the finished painting.

You will remember that, two years ago, we reproduced the final painting in full color as a four-page Christmas card with an envelope to sell for twenty-five cents each and you may like to know that there are still a few copies available for your use during the coming Christmas season.

THE AMERICAN ART-UNION'S DOWNFALL

by E. Maurice Bloch

Keeper of Drawings and Prints, The Cooper Union Museum

Editorial Note: In a Foreword to the Society's just-published *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union 1816–1852* (see announcement of this two-volume work herein, p. 407), James Thomas Flexner says of the Art-Union: "Historians of our culture have an affection for this organization which seems, of all those the nation has produced, the one that was best designed to put American artistic activity on a healthy basis." The reasons for this statement are clearly evidenced in the volumes he prefaces. They show that the American Art-Union, during the years 1839–1851, exerted a profound influence upon the development of American art and in what manner, to what purpose, and with what results. The Art-Union not only placed art-patronage for the first time on a democratic basis but also increased such patronage beyond anything previously experienced. Thereby, it "turned both popular taste and creative endeavor more consciously toward those manifestations of the 19th-century American School which in modern judgments have been most valued." Its permanent free gallery "elicited a keener interest among a greater proportion of the population than has any other museum or gallery of art over an equal period at any time before or since, anywhere in America." Its nation-wide distribution of thousands of original works of art and hundreds of thousands of engravings after living American artists "encouraged the people to regard paintings not as awesome objects of virtue, suitable only for the rich and for museums, but as pleasures that ordinary citizens could enjoy as they hung on the walls of simple living rooms. . . ." For a long time after its demise "under an irrelevant legal attack" many Americans "looked back regretfully to Art-Union days as to a golden age of American art."

Referring to that "irrelevant legal attack," the historian of The American Art-Union in the before-mentioned volumes says: "No evidence has been found that the attack on the lottery system [by which the Union distributed its art prizes among its members] directly inhibited any significant number of subscribers, but it did eventually succeed in forcing the District Attorney to take cognizance of the situation and to institute proceedings against the Art-Union on that ground. Surprisingly, the very official who prosecuted the actions—N. Bowditch Blunt—had become District Attorney a month before what would turn out to be the final lottery distribution of the Art-Union (December 1850) and had participated in that distribution as a teller. It would be interesting to know what changed his official attitude toward the Art-Union distribution system, what personalities were involved and what motivations inspired them, but that . . . story . . ., being under investigation by another student, basing his researches in large part on the manuscript record of the Art-Union at The New-York Historical Society, will be presented in another publication of this Society." Professor Bloch of the Cooper Union is that student and here is that story.

AND THUS by such a hand, or rather pen, was accomplished the downfall of the old American Art Union. . . ." So wrote Worthington Whittredge of Thomas W. Whitley (though without naming him) when half a century after the event he

reviewed the history of the American Art-Union of New York, with particular emphasis upon its demise in 1852, and the more intimate causes of that downfall. The writer, a landscape painter of note, had been a National Academician since 1861 and President of the Academy from 1874 to 1877. He had matured during the vital period of Art-Union influence (1839–1851) upon the development of art in this country and was very much aware of the problems that beset his colleagues during that crucial time. His obvious respect for the American Art-Union and its ideals was reflected in the details of its story which he graphically recalled and recounted so many years later. Much of his article (published in 1908) was devoted to a defense of the institution. Certainly to most of his readers the Art-Union was no longer of important consideration, and probably all but forgotten, yet to Whittredge the matter still remained a living issue, and he must have believed it his duty to set the facts right, as he saw them, once and for all time.[1]

Whittredge had sold his pictures to the American Art-Union at New York and to its offspring—the Western Art-Union—at Cincinnati, and undoubtedly felt that their patronage had filled an important need. This impression was certainly not echoed by all of the artists who courted art-union patronage, as the American Art-Union itself had often testified. Although the Union recognized and frequently defended itself against a strong and growing opposition by a number of the artists, Whittredge believed until the last that it was one "pen" in particular that gave it the fatal *coup de grâce*. He was in a better position than were most of his fellow-artists to know about the individual he held responsible, and he described him in some detail:

> . . . In 1848 there came to Cincinnati—where I was then living—an artist, an Englishman by birth, and but a few years in this country. He was a pretty poor artist, but a man of no mean talent as a writer on art and kindred subjects. About this time he sent two small landscapes to the Union for sale. They were sent back to him, either because of the ex-

[1] Thomas Worthington Whittredge (1820–1910), "The American Art Union," in *Magazine of History*, VII(2), February 1908, pp. 63–68.

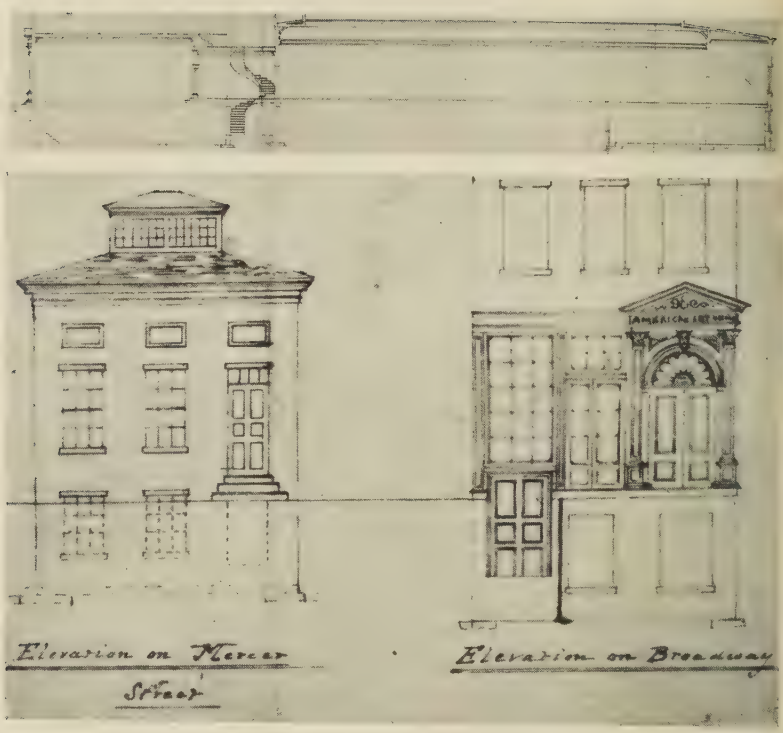
orbitant price he asked for them, or their lack of merit. But whatever the cause of their rejection, it rankled, and so embittered him that from this time forward he became the Union's vehement opponent, leaving no stone unturned which he could in any way set rolling to destroy the Society.

He became a correspondent of the New York *Herald*, and wrote articles not only relating to fine arts but theatrical matters as well, criticizing the actors of the day, among whom Edwin Forrest and William C. Macready were at that moment very conspicuous. When these two tragedians were acting in New York at the same time, the rivalry between them resulted in the Astor Place riots, in August, 1849. . . .[2] A year or two previous to this Forrest, having become interested in grape culture, bought a small farm in Kentucky just across the river from Cincinnati; and knowing this English artist as a kind of 'Jack of all trades,' employed him to superintend its cultivation. When, however, Macready came to this country and got fairly 'on the stage,' the artist wrote some letters published in the *Herald*, lauding his countryman, at which the sensitive Forrest took offense and promptly discharged him from his farm. Being no longer 'lord of the vineyard,' but holding still his place as correspondent of the *Herald*, he left Cincinnati and came to New York, embittered now against both his former employer Forrest and the Art Union. The *Herald* took sides with him against the Union, by allowing him to publish his scurrilous articles, many of them abusive of the citizens and patrons of art in New York. . . ."[3]

At no time does Whittredge identify by name our dangerous and colorful adversary of the American Art-Union. We have no way of knowing why he exercised this final restraint at that time, having already revealed so much. Whatever his reasons for so doing, it would certainly seem, on this centennial of the downfall of the Art-Union, that—now it can be told!

The clues by which we have identified this bitter antagonist of the Union are partially exposed through the later *Herald* editorials referring to the institution, but these exhibit no more than a glimpse into Whitley's role in the affair. The most important and fascinating portion of the story is contained in the personal records of the Art-Union, now in the collections of The New-York Historical Society. Received by the Society in 1863 and 1885, the material includes the manuscript correspondence re-

[2] The Astor Place riots actually took place May 10, 1849.
[3] Whittredge, *op. cit.*, 67–68.



THE AMERICAN ART-UNION BUILDING, 497 BROADWAY, BUILT 1847

Longitudinal section and elevations (the Broadway entrance being remodeled from an older building) by James Renwick, Jr. (1818–1895), Architect

From the American Art-Union Collection at The New-York Historical Society

ceived by the organization, the letter books of copies of letters sent from the Union, and the volumes containing the minutes of the meetings held by the Committee of Management.[1] The documentation affords us a vital picture of the management of the institution, as well as a very personal insight into its relationships with artists. It is possible to trace many times over a period of years an individual's contacts with the Art-Union. More than three years ago it was the writer's privilege to examine this ma-

[1] The New-York Historical Society received, April 7, 1863: 97 manuscript volumes, containing 17,407 letters, addressed to the American Art-Union; 24 volumes, containing 20,495 copies of letters from the organization. In 1885 the Society received the volumes of manuscript minutes of the Committee of Management, 1849–1855.

terial in its entirety. This almost daily contact with its small world of artists and their patron raised the curtain on a past but little more than a century removed from us in time, unfolding an extraordinary story. It was then—and this was before the Whittredge article was brought to notice—that the name of one of the Art-Union's most persistent correspondents was singled out as one to watch and follow through the years. That name was Thomas W. Whitley.

Thomas Whitley first made himself known to the American Art-Union early in 1848 when he submitted two landscapes to the institution for purchase. At that time he was residing in Covington, Kentucky, site of the Forrest farm. Not receiving any encouragement from the Committee, he addressed himself to William Cullen Bryant,[5] requesting "a good word" in support of his work. Bryant promptly complied by writing to General Prosper M. Wetmore, President of the Art-Union, May 17, 1848:

> It is not 'for the likes of me' as the Irish say to offer my counsel to the managers of the Art-Union, who compose men understanding these matters better than I do. I have not seen either of the paintings to which Mr. Whitley refers, but I know something of his capacity as a painter. He has a great deal of facility, and often paints with a good deal of effect, though he is too impatient to elaborate his pictures. I have heard Durand commend some of his landscapes. It would be a well-bestowed kindness to give his works as friendly a consideration as possible. . . .[6]

Bryant was evidently personally acquainted with Whitley and the artist considered Parke Godwin, the poet-editor's son-in-law, among his close friends. Whitley painted a picture of the Bryant estate at Roslyn, Long Island, and when Bryant won a cash award toward the purchase of a painting from the Art-Union of Philadelphia, he selected a work by Whitley.[7]

It is more than likely that Bryant's "good word" played its

[5] William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) was the third President of the American Art-Union, 1844–1846.

[6] Ms., The New-York Historical Society. Unless otherwise indicated, all Mss. quoted are from the American Art-Union files in the Society's collection.

[7] *Philadelphia Art-Union Reporter*, I(11), December 1851, p. 140. The artist was listed as T. W. Whitely, undoubtedly Whitley. The painting selected by Bryant was entitled: "An American Landscape."

part in the decision of the American Art-Union committee to purchase three of his pictures during the latter part of 1848. During the months that followed, Whitley fairly bombarded the Art-Union with his pictures; out of the more than twenty submitted in 1849, four were selected. The last painting purchased was on December 4th of that year, a "View near Hoboken, N.J.," offered at "$10 and two shares in the drawing of the American Art-Union." Each share being worth five dollars, the Art-Union chose instead to pay him twenty dollars for the picture.

According to the *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860*,[8] and the exhibition catalogues for succeeding years, Thomas W. Whitley was an exhibitor from 1849 to 1863. Attributed to him are pictures shown at the Academy in 1835, 1840, and 1844 under the names J. W. Whitney, F. W. Whitley, and P. W. Whitley which, it is believed, because of their "similarities of spelling and of subject-matter," were intended as Thomas W. Whitley.[9]

During 1850 the artist continued to offer his productions to the Union, but all were rejected and returned. A landscape submitted in 1851 was also turned back.

Whitley's correspondence with the Art-Union, as well as with Parke Godwin, reveals something of the volcanic temperament that was constantly in an eruptive state. Easily out of patience, it frequently took very little to turn the smoke into fire, and once started, it was almost impossible to control.

His first letters to the Union were formal appeals for purchase, at times indicating an urgency in having them approved due to

[8] *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860* [compiled by Mary Bartlett Cowdrey] (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1943), II: 204–206.

[9] *Idem.* From 1849 to 1853 Whitley exhibited at the National Academy of Design, and was listed in its catalogues as at various addresses in New York City. In later years (1854, 1855, 1857–1863) his address was given as Hoboken, N. J. About 1858 Whitley published *A guide to Hoboken, the Elysian Fields, and Weehawken, with an historical sketch. . . .*

Judging from the number of pictures he exhibited at the NAD, and those he submitted to the AAU, Whitley was a prolific artist. Up to this writing, however, none of his paintings have been located.

GALLERY OF THE AMERICAN ART-UNION, 497 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

Woodcut after the drawing by Samuel Wallin, 1849

From Bulletin of the American Art-Union, May 1849, page 6

reduced financial circumstances. Writing from New York, November 24, 1848, he presents his case with the utmost humility:

The 'Art Union' would do me a great service by purchasing the landscape which I have sent for its inspection and approval. If there be any impropriety in making this appeal to your kindness will you do me the justice to believe there are very cogent reasons for my so doing. The approach of winter, the claims of a young family, my devotion to the advancement of art and the ill treatment, not to say indignities, which I have received from the 'Western Art-Union,' are among the most prominent. I am aware that my picture, should have been of a character which would have rendered this appeal superfluous, but under existing circumstances it was impossible. I beg to assure that henceforth I will endeavour to paint so well as to render an appeal of this for ever after unnecessary. . . .

The reference by Whitley to the Western Art-Union is significant of the events that were to come about through his later experiences with the American Art-Union. This sister organization of the New York institution was established in 1847 at Cincinnati, Ohio—directly across the river from Covington,

Kentucky, where Whitley was working the Forrest vineyards. He submitted three pictures to the Western Art-Union which were purchased for distribution during its first year of operation, but was unsuccessful the following year. At that time, in retaliation for this lack of support, he wrote a scathing criticism of the Cincinnati Union over his name, not only condemning the organization, but the artists whose works it was then exhibiting as well, in the most acrimonious terms he could muster. A few painters, particularly Thomas Cole, somehow escaped his wrath. Originally published in a periodical, it was reprinted in pamphlet form.[10] Certainly not a gesture destined to create an enduring friendship with the Western Art-Union, nor one likely to gain a greater appreciation of his pictures, it is more than possible that this article preceded him to New York on his return during the summer or fall of 1848. Colonel Andrew Warner, Corresponding Secretary of the American Art-Union, writing early in 1851 to the Honorary Secretary at Columbus, Ohio, mentions Whitley by name as the one "who published an abusive pamphlet against the Western Art Union a few years ago because it declined his pictures . . . ."

When Whitley discovered that his works were not enthusiastically received by the New York institution during the first half of 1849—one picture only being purchased in March—his patience began to wear thin. Addressing himself to General Wetmore, he wrote:

> I pray you determine wether [*sic*] my last two pictures are to be purchased or not. I have waited patiently and have learned that since they have been before the Committee several purchases have been made. I will only add that they were painted at your suggestion and after I had the mortification of having five original pictures rejected. I do not expect to please the Art Union, nor can I doubt that my paintings would be unacceptable to its subscribers—to say nothing of my claims on an institution founded for the encouragement of home artists and *especially home scenes*. . . .

[10] *Reflections on the government of the Western Art Union and a review of the works of art on its walls* [originally published in *Herald of Truth*]. (Cincinnati: Printed at the Herald Office, 1848), 24 pp.

Despite this rather imprudent approach to a potential patron, the Art-Union purchased three more of his paintings between August and December.

In December 1849 the Union expressed awareness of a growing opposition to itself in a *Bulletin* article entitled: "The Enemies of the American Art-Union":

> Enemies far more insidious and persevering have been found—can the reader believe it?—among the body of the artists themselves. . . . Few facts exhibit the perversity of human nature more clearly than this animosity which has been manifested by men, to put bread into whose mouths the Committee of Management are making no inconsiderable personal sacrifices. Some of the most furious declaimers in private circles—and we have reason to believe some of the most unscrupulous libellers in the public prints—derive their chief support from the very Institution they are doing their best to destroy. . . .[11]

Whether Whitley was then considered to be among those "most unscrupulous libellers" of the Art-Union cannot now be determined with any certainty, but it would have been characteristic of him to take as a personal insult the charge in the same article that some artists "foolishly waste their time in concocting miserable libels in the offices of newspapers" rather than "silently accommodating themselves to circumstances and quietly producing fresh works"—that, indeed, the newspapers themselves had become "another class of adversaries quite as violent and unscrupulous as the artists themselves." It is quite possible that Whitley, having now resumed his newspaper reporting, became convinced that he was being exposed to a new "mortification" and thereupon set up an offensive in the public press.

Whitley had been a correspondent for the *New-York Herald* —a newspaper well-suited to his temperament—for some time prior to 1849. James Gordon Bennett,[12] the editor, scarcely more admired among his colleagues than was Whitley among his fellow-artists, must have sensed a kind of spiritual kinship in him, as well as recognizing in him a writer "of no mean talent." Bennett, dubbed by Benjamin Day, editor of the *Sun*, a "notori-

[11] *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, II(9), December 1849, p. 9.
[12] James Gordon Bennett (1795–1872).

ous vagabond" whose "only chance of dying an upright man will be that of hanging perpendicularly upon a rope,"[13] no doubt welcomed the sort of sensationalism Whitley could conjure up with very little effort, and considerable imagination.

The Art-Union was not the only one of Whitley's antipathies that stood in danger of his attack. He had already revealed a bitter enmity for Edwin Forrest in his correspondence with Parke Godwin.[14] Whether he played more than a minor role in the Forrest-Macready quarrels, leading to the Astor Place riots, may never be known. Certainly his published praise of Macready, supposedly the chief reason for his sudden dismissal by Forrest from the Kentucky farm, served to increase the latter's resentment against his English rival. While still in Cincinnati, Whitley, who believed himself "much abused, deceived, and insulted by Forrest," threatened to "publish a history of his connection with Forrest with a critical diatribe on his character and pretensions" —even preparing a melodrama in which Forrest was portrayed as a madman.[15] Since the actor was himself a man of impetuous nature, and one who never forgot or forgave any real or imagined insult—not unlike his former employee—it is easily understood why the difficulty between them did not end in friendship and harmony. Whitley eventually testified in the sensational Forrest divorce case in December 1851, intimating that the actor had admitted privately to acts which, if acknowledged, would have undermined not only his defense of the divorce suit but also his moral standing in the community. Forrest's professional reputation never fully recovered from the effect this case had on public opinion. All of this Bennett played up in the *Herald* as sensationally as possible and showed himself ready to exploit whatever further public scandals his acrimonious correspondent might provide.

[13] Meyer Berger, *The story of the New York Times . . .* (New York: Simon & Schuster [1951]), 7–8.

[14] Bryant-Godwin papers, manuscript collections, New York Public Library.

[15] *Ibid.*, ms., S. M. Raymond to Parke Godwin re. Whitley, Pittsburgh, September 29, 1847.

Whitley's growing dissatisfaction with the reception of his work by the Art-Union made that institution a logical object of his reportorial ire. Having submitted some fourteen pictures during the early months of 1850, all rejected by the Art-Union, Whitley discontinued his persistent efforts to interest the institution in his work. The painting sent in for consideration in September 1851—a scene depicting Bryant's home at Roslyn—was submitted by his friend Parke Godwin, on the artist's behalf. The picture was not purchased, and Whitley must have understood that he could no longer expect a completely impartial judgment of his work by the Art-Union.[16] His reaction was to inaugurate what appears to have been a purposeful and several-sided campaign to undermine the professional prestige and public support of that organization.

On July 9, 1850, Whitley approached the Union in the guise of a subscriber for the year 1849, requesting "access to the books containing a record of the Transactions of that year in order that he may prepare a review of the affairs of the Art Union for public information. . . ." The Committee of Management, undoubtedly suspecting to what use such information would be put, refused the request. Temporarily frustrated in his obvious design to "expose" the Art-Union from the inside, Whitley turned to organized attack from the outside, and was said to have been a "prime mover" among a group of disgruntled artists for that purpose.

Early in October 1850 this opposition to the Art-Union by the artists took the form of an association called "The American Artists Association." *Figaro*, in a series of articles, reported this new organization as formed by artists resenting the methods used by the Union to gain patronage and accused the Union of "resorting to the low tricks of tradesmen to catch customers, most of whom fall off in disgust at the end of the year, when they have learned the shallow and wasteful manner in which a

[16] Whitley to the American Art-Union, referring to this picture: ". . . had not the picture been solicited by him [Godwin] for the Art Union you would not have been troubled with it. . . ."

hundred thousand dollars have been squandered. . . ." The Art-Union management was referred to as "these petty oligarchs" who "brow-beat the poor devils whom they barely feed; a troop mostly of German, French and English, many of whom have no friends or acquaintances, and no means of subsistence but the wretched manufacture of pictures at twenty-five dollars each, to swell the *number* of works for distribution, at such a cheap rate as will leave large sums to be expended in diverting from the walls of the academy the works of the more popular artists . . ."[17] It was also stated that artists had been threatened with withdrawal of all patronage by the Art-Union if they joined in the new movement. Continuing the propaganda for the new Association, *Figaro* later reported that "investigation" had shown that important pictures were often purchased by the directors—one "high functionary" in particular—from prize-winners, who were unaware of the true value, at small cost. Further—that the prices paid for pictures were not made known to the public.

The tone of these articles and their libellous accusations against the management of the Union were so similar to Whitley's later attacks in the *Herald* that there can be little uncertainty in attributing them to his pen. Although Whitley's name never appears directly in connection with the new Artists Association we can, nevertheless, discover his active part in its proceedings, thus corroborating the conclusion that he was, in fact, the author of the offensive articles noted above. Andrew Warner of the American Art-Union, who had an intimate knowledge of the affair and had more than one clue to the more personal aspects of the artists' revolt, replied to an inquiry concerning the organization, January 10, 1851:

> The Artists Association you speak of is not an incorporated body, but originated thro' some disappointed artists whose miserable productions were declined by our Committee. A man by the name of Whitley . . . was a prime mover in this affair, but I believe he has already quarrelled with some of his associates. As I learn, the concern is not encouraged by any artists of reputation or note, and cannot long be sustained. . . .

[17] "Revolt of Artists," in *Figaro*, I, October 12, 1850, p. 79.

And, as if replying to the accusation in *Figaro* regarding the withholding of public information about prices paid for pictures, he adds: "We never have or do withhold the prices of pictures when asked, tho' we do not publish the prices because the artists themselves prefer we should not . . . ." Documentation bears out the fact that prices were given upon request at various times.

Evidently incensed over the continued opposition of the artists, particularly aggravated now by newspaper accounts, the *Bulletin* of the Art-Union for December 1850 devoted considerable space to a discussion of a situation which, by this time, had developed into a strongly organized resistance. After describing some of the dissident artists as "conceited young men, who have been spoiled by the foolish praise of ignorant friends" and who therefore "feel themselves aggrieved by the coldness with which their productions are treated," the writer goes on to discuss a somewhat more formidable group.

who are wounded in their pockets, rather than their feelings, by the action of the Committee; and whose disappointments interfere not so much with their glowing hopes of professional distinction as with the cold and calculating speculations of business. Certain old stagers, whose works, if they are ever found in public galleries, are hidden in dark corners, and shunned universally by amateurs and picture dealers, having disgusted such patrons as chance may have bestowed, turn their attention to the American Art-Union as a convenient source of future maintenance. These men are frequently mere mechanics, who have no more feeling for nature than knowledge of true Art. They paint for nothing but money, and are as willing to paint ill as well, and one thing as another, provided they are paid for it. As for that disinterested enthusiasm and those lofty views of the objects of their profession, which make genuine artists so charming, these pretenders have not the faintest conception of such things, however much they may write or talk of them. Having given up all prospect long ago of persuading the public to buy their insipid productions, their only hope is by some intrigue or cajolery to smuggle them into the Art-Union catalogue. They begin by gentle proceedings—write flattering notices of the exhibitions—(if they are able to write)—and make themselves as amiable as possible to those whom they consider influential. Finding that this course fails to procure the necessary votes, they change their tactics, and attempt to bully the power they could not conciliate. They threaten exposures, where there is nothing to expose; and hint at the existence of monstrous frauds, where those who are libelled *know*

that the severest scrutiny can detect nothing unfair or dishonorable. This plan is, of course, as futile as the other. Their works continue to be rejected. The Institution is much less harmed by encountering their opposition, than it would be by purchasing their productions. . . .[15]

So much of this discourse closely describes our artist, paralleling his every action in connection with the Art-Union, and clearly indicating probable reasons why his works "continue to be rejected," that it would be difficult to doubt that Tom Whitley was under discussion, in all but name. The Art-Union had an enemy it could recognize, whose writings and connivings had caused the most dangerous organized opposition to it since its formation. The Union, however, appeared still unaware that these threats to its very existence were anything more than "slanderous innuendoes" which could be ignored until such time as "these shadowy hints shall be condensed into something more solid and tangible . . . ."

The fateful year 1851 saw the deadly seeds sown that were eventually to spell the doom of the American Art-Union. A steady barrage of hostile publicity—particularly the *Herald*—was creating at last an adverse effect on a public which had heretofore supported it, and this in turn frightened away some of the prominent officials who had formerly enthusiastically lent their names to the Union's activities. Especially dangerous in the latters' view was the new political issue that was being appended to the Union's troubles—the accusation that it was an illegal lottery. True, the Art-Union had been referred to as a lottery on several occasions throughout its history without noticeable effect upon its steady growth and public support. Its managers—acutely sensitive to any inference that they were conducting a game of chance—had always been able, in the past, to counter these scattered attacks, perhaps because such attacks had always been isolated efforts. What the Union encountered during its last years, however, was an organized and deliberate opposition, prosecuted in the public press and bent on taking the life of the

[15] "The Opposition to the Art Union," in *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, December 1850, p. 143.

association. And this concentrated and continual unfavorable press, with lottery the familiar term of onus, inevitably attracted more formidable attention elsewhere.

On March 1, 1851, the Grand Jury of Rensselaer County, pointing to the American Art-Union, felt it "their duty to make a public presentment of an evil of great and growing magnitude .... They allude to a species of gambling and lotteries, the odium attached to which by both the law and moral sense is attempted to be palliated by the modern application of Art Union.... The Grand Jury recommend to their constituents to see that the laws in this respect are enforced and they call upon all judicial officers and overseers of the poor to discharge their respective duties under these laws...."[19] So far as is known no action resulted from this citation of the Rensselaer County Grand Jury, but it was indicative of the effect the campaign was having upon public officials.

Against these new attacks the Art-Union attempted to defend itself through articles in friendly newspapers and in its own *Bulletin*. The issue for April 1851 devoted itself specifically to the lottery issue, claiming that "our institution is not a lottery in any usual, legal, or moral sense. We associated for the promotion of the fine arts.... Lotteries are forbidden by law and morals, but no rule of law, morals, or religion, prohibit or discountenances drawing lots for the necessary and useful purpose of a just partition ...."[20]

But Thomas Whitley, that special "friend" of the Art-Union, was not one to be thwarted by such an argument. As part of the campaign, and to add ridicule to slander, he published, sometime during 1850 or 1851, a circular (reproduced on a following page) announcing an art union of his own![21] Besides his own pictures, he offered as one of the prizes a double-barrel "Fowling Piece which is almost new [and] will give a good *report* of itself";

[19] The findings of the Grand Jury of Rensselaer County, New York, discussed in the *Herald*, April 1, 1852.

[20] *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, April 1851, p. 19.

[21] A copy of the circular is in The New-York Historical Society collections.

also some champagne which "cannot fail to gratify the taste of amateurs in more ways than one." By boldly offering these articles "in a lottery after the manner of the American Art-Union" and by a mock-deprecation of any subscriber's possible "fastidiousness as to the morality of the mode" or "inclination towards more tempting speculations" (obviously the American Art-Union), Whitley made plain the farcicality of his scheme and its main purpose of blackening the methods of the Art-Union by firmly fastening upon it the charge of lottery.

There is evidence that many of the published diatribes used against the organization during the greater part of 1851 were authored by him, although for the most part anonymously. One such evidence is the opinion of his contemporaries. Thus, on May 29, 1851, James Henry Beard,[22] an artist who resided in Cincinnati, wrote to the American Art-Union that an article in a New York newspaper "looks very much to me as though it might have eminated [*sic*] from the brain of one Mr. Whitley. . . ." This referred to a criticism of Beard's "Last Man," then on exhibition at the Art-Union Gallery, which had appeared in the *Evening Mirror* on May 10th. The critic had called the entire show "a miserable collection" and directed his choicest remarks against the Beard painting.[23] In his letter to the Union the artist stated that he was about to submit another picture and added, assuming Whitley to be the critic:

> I suppose I shall receive another broad side from his powerful pen [?]. As he has instituted himself the champion of all the artists of America, protecting them against the horrid abuse practiced by those swindling concerns the Art Unions, I suppose that inasmuch as I have dared to send my pictures to one of them, that I will deserve a severe castigation and that he will not spare either one or my picture, in the *kindly* hope that this course may cure me of my insanity. . . .

It would be difficult to indicate the continuing activities of Whitley in any way approaching the complete story, nor does

[22] James Henry Beard (1812–1893), Honorary Member of the National Academy, Professional, 1848–1860; National Academician, 1872–1893.

[23] *The Evening Mirror*, May 10, 1851, 2–1: "The American Art-Union."

ARTICLES OF VERTU.

Paintings, Prints, Casts, Double Barrel Fowling Piece and Champagne.

The undersigned asks his friends and the lovers of Art to assist him in the disposal of the above Articles, which will be offered them in a lottery after the manner of the American Art-Union. The prizes will be SIXTY in number, and the number of tickets is to be two hundred, at three dollars each. The lottery to be conducted by gentlemen whose character will be a sufficient guarantee for a faithful discharge of the duties which they will cheerfully perform.

The Paintings are THIRTY in number, ancient and modern, of various descriptions, but chiefly of LANDSCAPES, painted by the subscriber between the LATITUDES of NEW ORLEANS and the MOUNTAINS OF NEW ENGLAND. Some of them are elegantly framed, and their value according to Art-Union prices, which the subscriber has heretofore obtained, ranges from twenty to near one hundred dollars. The Prints are rare and beautiful. The FOWLING PIECE which is almost new, will give a good *report* of itself. The Casts, (coming from the classic moulds of Mr. Basham's studio,) and the Champagne cannot fail to gratify the taste of amateurs in more ways than one.

This circular is sent to the personal friends of the artist, and addressed to the public with the assurance that they will not decline an opportunity to aid one who has endeavored in divers ways to deserve their esteem. It is hoped that neither fastidiousness as to the morality of the mode, nor inclination towards more tempting speculations, will disincline those to whom this appeal is made.

As many will doubtless subscribe without seeing the works offered, it may be well to say that the undersigned could not compromise his reputation by offering an unworthy scheme.

T. W. WHITLEY.

NOTE.—This circular will be sent to friends, who are requested to inform him by line addressed 298 BROADWAY, when they will be ready to be called on for a report. As the choice of numbers could only be gratified by personal application, which is impossible, he hopes that subscribers will be content with the record of their names being placed on the lists from one to two hundred. If, however, any be superstitious as to numbers, they may be gratified by calling at the Studio, 298 Broadway.

THOMAS W. WHITLEY'S LOTTERY CIRCULAR, *c.* 1850–51

From the American Art-Union Collection at The New-York Historical Society

it appear necessary for our purpose to attempt to attribute to him, one by one, the many articles against the Art-Union that appeared in 1851. Quite possibly he was credited with some for which he may have been only indirectly responsible by encouraging less excitable temperaments to voice grievances which otherwise would have lain dormant. Certain it is that he made a sizeable contribution, but we shall confine ourselves to those of his literary efforts which appeared in the *Herald* during the last month of that year, and the first months of 1852—efforts that were to form a trap from which the Union could not extricate itself.

On December 15, 1851, the *Herald* published an article writ-

ten in the form of a letter to the editor and signed "Many Artists and Friends of Art Unions."[24] Evidently by Whitley, it consisted of a series of eleven questions submitted to the directors of the Union and appealed to the public to call a committee at the annual distribution (advertised to take place December 19th) to investigate the affairs of the association. The letter is too long to reprint in its entirety but a few of the questions bear repetition:

1. What is the cause of your sustaining a diminution of fifteen thousand dollars in your subn. list last year, and of your inextricable embarrassment this year?

2. Have you, out of the three hundred paintings on your walls, twenty good pictures derived from American history, poetry, and landscape? Are not at least two hundred of these paintings unworthy a public exhibition? . . .

5. Have you not patronized some artists to the extent of thousands of dollars and sent others empty away?

6. Have not some of you obtained some of the best prizes after they have been drawn, by opening a correspondence with distant subscribers who knew not their value? . . .

8. Have you not concealed from the subscribers, under an artful plea, the amount of the sums paid for each work of art?

9. Have you not declined application for an inspection of the books of this institution? . . .[25]

Some of the previously published accusations on which these questions were based can probably now be ascribed to Whitley as well. Query number nine undoubtedly refers to his letter to the Art-Union, July 9, 1850, mentioned earlier in this discussion. And a subsequent attack in the *Herald* on December 18th—the day before the annual distribution was to have occurred—which examined the applicability of the lottery laws of the State in relation to "The American Art-Union Lottery," is also obviously by his hand.[26]

A writer for the Art-Union in the *Courier and Enquirer*, responding to the above-quoted questions from the *Herald*, asserted that if any artists had "been sent away with empty

[24] *New York Herald*, December 15, 1851, 1–6: "The American Art-Union—the Public and the Artists."

[25] *Ibid.*, December 18, 1851, 6–5.

[26] *Ibid.*, 6–5/6.

pockets" they belonged to "that large class whose canvass exhibits proof only of an empty head"; moreover, that the Art-Union directors would not answer questions put to them by "anonymous writers." This so thoroughly incensed Whitley that he published a blistering reply in the *Herald* of December 22d. In it he identified himself as not only "the one against whom . . . [the American Art-Union's] shafts are chiefly directed" but also as the one most "determined to expose the management of the affairs of this institution." He claimed that the Art-Union had sought him out, purchased his pictures, "invoked the aid of his pen to the task of sustaining their institution, and handsomely acknowledged the service it did them. . . ." He tossed back the reference to "empty-headed" ones and concluded "the painful task" by announcing himself as the "sole writer of the paper."[27]

That his attacks on the Art-Union had been having an adverse effect on its income is indicated by the fact that its managers found it necessary to postpone the December 19th distribution of prizes, though they offered another reason for that misfortune on that day. In the paid announcement of the postponement in the *Herald* they gave as the reason that the meeting hall would be used that night for a public reception to Kossuth. At the same time the *Herald* reported that the Art-Union was using the columns of the *Courier and Enquirer* in which to answer the charges brought against them "by a correspondent in our journal," and asserted that the defense "amounts to just nothing at all." Pursuing the matter further, it said: "But is not the whole scheme of the Art Union illegal by the laws of this State and are not the managers liable to be prosecuted for engaging in the lottery business? We should like to see this point settled."[28]

The postponement of the distribution gave added cause for criticism of the Art-Union. By the year's end the directors were

[27] *Ibid.*, December 22, 1851, 2–4: "The American Art-Union Again." Coincidentally, in the same issue, Whitley's damaging testimony in the sensational Forrest divorce case was introduced ("Forrest Divorce Case," 4–1). In the complete record of the trial, Whitley stated that he was an artist and dealer in "wines and spirits," at 543 Broadway and 147 Prince Street in New York.

[28] *Ibid.*, December 19, 1851, 1–1: "The Art Union."

readily admitting that the real reason for deferring the meeting was due to a shortage of funds, which they blamed on the "Kossuth excitement" and the "commercial distress" of the country. This the *Herald* in its New Year's issue branded as "false" and "impudent." At the same time it opened an entirely new front to the attack, asserting that:

> The Art Union is in the hands of an *abolition clique* . . . in addition to paying for oyster and champagne suppers &c., &c., a *portion of the funds have been applied towards establishing a daily abolition journal in this city, instead of being used for the legitimate purposes of the institution.* . . .[29]

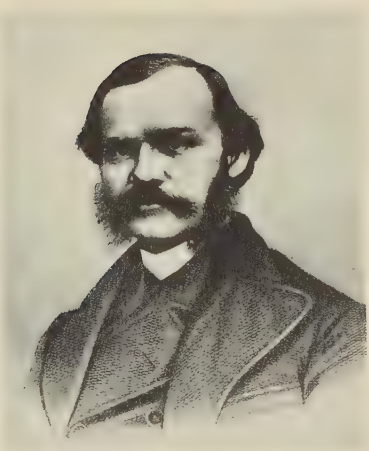
The "abolition journal" referred to was, of course, Henry Jarvis Raymond's newly founded *New-York Daily Times*. The Art-Union immediately printed a denial. In a circular dated January 2, 1852, and signed by Andrew Warner, it called the *Herald* "an unscrupulous press" and asserted that the statements made were "false and unfounded." Moreover, it promised that the "authors will have an opportunity to answer them in a court of justice."[30]

The *Herald's* charge that the Art-Union had used some of its funds "towards establishing a daily abolition journal in this city" brings on stage an opponent who, however willingly he had lent his paper to Whitley's purposes, had heretofore been watching developments from behind the scenes—James Gordon Bennett. Bennett, that "man of many aversions," could easily find room for one more. His journalistic opponent—Henry Jarvis Raymond[31]—had long since won his detestation, and Raymond's association with the Art-Union now helped to bring into play Bennett's concentrated efforts against that institution.

Raymond, a member of the Committee of Management of the Union since 1847, was elected an Assemblyman from the Ninth Ward on the Whig ticket in 1849, re-elected in 1850, and in January 1851 appointed Speaker of the House. As a rising young

[29] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1852, 4–4: "The Art Union Lottery Distribution Postponed."
[30] The New-York Historical Society.
[31] Henry Jarvis Raymond (1820–1869).

JAMES G. BENNETT (1795–1872)
Editor, the *New-York Herald*
Engraving at NYHS



HENRY J. RAYMOND (1820–1869)
Founder, *New-York Daily Times*
Engraving at NYHS

editor he had worked for Colonel James Watson Webb on the *Courier and Enquirer*. In 1851 he founded a penny newspaper called the *New-York Daily Times*, the direct ancestor of the current *New York Times*. Its first issue appeared on the streets on September 17th of that year, and from the beginning incurred the opposition of the rival two-cent papers. Bennett was the most active antagonist. In his *Herald* he castigated the *Times* as that "penny abolition paper" and "nigger penny organ," and heaped much personal abuse upon its publisher, Raymond.

A recent biography of Raymond reveals the situation which Bennett seized upon to indicate the Art-Union's misappropriation of funds in active support of a strong political issue:

> To build out-of-town circulation the *Times* joined the American Art-Union. . . . The Art Union, seeking membership, printed a circular that was reproduced in the daily and weekly editions of the *Times*, copies of which were then sent to former Art Union members. The Art Union paid only for the paper required, and the *Times* obtained easily a list of potential readers. . . .[32]

[32] Ernest Francis Brown, *Raymond of the Times* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1951), 105.

On January 29th the *Herald* gave considerable space in its columns to a discussion of Raymond's connections with the Art-Union. Reviewing Raymond's editorship of the *Courier and Enquirer*, it stated that he was "compelled" to leave that paper for his "anti-slavery sentiments" and for the resultant disastrous effect his influence had on its financial state. It concluded that the Art-Union's use of Raymond's new paper "undoubtedly produced the same effect on the receipts of the institution." It went on to charge that:

> The Art Union . . . tolerated, in their management, and aided with their money and means, the same anti-slavery agitator who introduced that subject in the Legislature of New York and almost ran the *Courier and Enquirer* into the ground. The same consequences will attend the destiny, and such conduct and policy deserve, the result, which we now predict will befall them.[83]

It should now be apparent that the attacks in the press from 1850 on were deliberately planned with a definite view toward the destruction of the American Art-Union. Whitley's personal enmity had grown to enormous proportions—had become, in fact, his chief aim in life. His job was to produce unfavorable criticism of its every move, especially to push forward the lottery or gambling notion, and so create a war of nerves which would oblige the Art-Union to defend itself in the courts. With the backing of the *Herald* and the sensational-minded Bennett, he could go as far as he liked, and, as we have seen, Bennett himself, though for reasons of his own, eventually joined in the attack.

The Art-Union announced its decision to take legal proceedings against the *Herald* immediately following the "oyster and champagne supper" article of January 1st. Within a month the newspaper announced that it had been "gravely indicted for libel by the Grand Jury." Mendaciously, it also proclaimed that it had always "aided, assisted, puffed, and praised" the Union's management and had continued to do so "up to the very day in which they first issued their bulletin announcing the postponement of

[83] *New York Herald*, January 29, 1852, 4–3: "The Art Union in Trouble."

the distribution, and the consequent violation of their promises. From that moment we took the side of the public against the mismanagement of the institution. . . ."[34]

The libel action fully aroused Bennett who seized upon it as an excellent opportunity to create sensational copy for his paper, as well as a chance to hit back at his old enemy, Raymond. Bennett always enjoyed a good story, even if he had to take a horsewhipping to get it, and the libel action was just the unfortunate move that he and Whitley had evidently hoped the Art-Union would eventually make. Whether the Union could have continued to overlook the more and more personal tone of the *Herald*'s editorial abuse is another matter. Rightly or wrongly, it was this action that started the institution adrift in the sea of legal difficulties, resulting in its eventual destruction.

The Art-Union's case against James Gordon Bennett was argued before the Court of General Sessions on February 14th by N. Bowditch Blunt, the District Attorney, for the plaintiff. As the *Herald* reported it:

> [The libel] consisted in some observations upon the acts of the Board of Directors and Managers of the Art Union, and the complaint was that certain persons were therein reflected upon, and it seemed that two exceptions were taken to their course: first, it consisted of a statement of the amount of funds received, and the failure to make the distribution which, by their by-laws, ought to be made; secondly, that the funds, which ought to be applied to the purchases of works of art, to be distributed, had been applied to other purposes. . . .[35]

The indictment itself, filed January 23d and reprinted in its entirety in the *Herald*, pointed to the January 1st article as a "false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel" and described Bennett as "a person of a depraved and wicked mind, and of a malicious temper and disposition, disregarding and despising the laws of this State, and most unlawfully, wickedly, maliciously and deliberately devising, contriving, and intending to traduce,

[34] *Ibid.*, February 2, 1852, 2–3: "The Art Union Drawing."
[35] *Ibid.*, February 16, 1852, 1–3 4: "The Herald and the Art Union ' Court of General Sessions."

villify and bring into public scandal, contempt, ridicule, and detestation, the said [Committee of Management]. . . ."[36]

The lawyers for the defendant, in support of a motion to quash the indictment which they described as "absurd," argued that there could be no grounds for a case in this instance if the activities of the Art-Union were contrary to law, that in actuality those activities constituted a lottery, and therefore were illegal. The motion was granted, and the indictment quashed, for the reasons stated. Recorder Tillou's "formidable" opinion in this case, and the "immoral tendencies" of the Art-Union which it alleged, were brought before the public by a hostile press in so urgent a manner that the District Attorney, despite his disagreement with the Recorder's opinion, was finally compelled to institute action in the New York Supreme Court. Most effective in forcing him to that action was Bennett's New York *Herald*. Having tasted blood, it pressed on for the kill and, in an editorial tracing the history of lotteries, concluded:

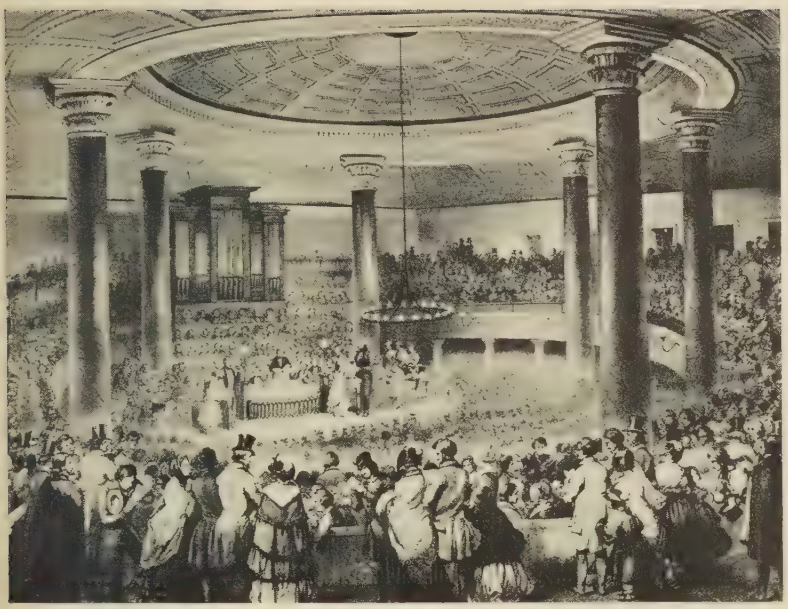
If then, as it seems, and who can doubt it, art unions are lotteries in disguise, they are, by our law, common and public nuisances; it is the duty of the law officers of this city to see to their immediate abatement. We recollect they did interfere in two cases, and procured their dissolution. Yet the American Art Union still remains. Why is it to enjoy an especial immunity? Why should it be permitted an especial and uninterrupted monopoly in wrong doing?[37]

On February 21st the *Herald* was able to announce: "The Art Union Lottery in trouble, at last":

. . . Misfortunes seldom come alone, and the Art Union lottery has not only got into trouble, but we understand that one of the original subscribers—one who has subscribed from the very commencement—intends in a few days, either in his own proper person, or through his representative, to commence legal proceedings against the managers, for the purpose of winding up the concern, selling the property by public auction, and dividing the assets between all the subscribers, who are owners of the Art Union. . . . The authority upon which we publish this information is of the most unquestionable character, and in a few days the public

[36] *Ibid.*, February 14, 1852, 6–1 '3: "Indictment of Art Union Lottery against the Herald."

[37] *Ibid.*, 6–3/4: "Lotteries—Art Unions—Common and Public Nuisances."



DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN ART-UNION PRIZES

At the Tabernacle, Broadway, New York, December 24, 1847

T. H. Matteson Del. Drawn on Stone by Davignon, Litho. of Sarony & Major

will see that it is so. The Art Union managers commenced by intimidating and fighting the newspapers by suits of law. By and bye they will have enough of it—such a dose as will make them sick of law for the rest of their journey in this mundane sphere.[38]

Bennett had purchased a ticket of membership in the Art-Union from "one of the original subscribers," Richard M. Hoe,[39] in order to enable him to carry out legal proceedings against the institution. He thereupon "applied for an injunction to restrain the American Art-Union from proceeding with the [deferred] distribution," which had been announced for March 30th. "The injunction was speedily dissolved," but on grounds which had no bearing on the legality of the lottery issue as set forth by the

[38] *Ibid.*, February 21, 1852, 4–4.

[39] Probably Richard March Hoe (1812–1886), manufacturer and inventor of the "Hoe rotary press." The *Herald* used printing presses manufactured by Hoe.

Herald. That issue still being unsettled, the press continued to hammer at it until its political implications had grown beyond the power of the District Attorney to ignore. Believing the Art-Union to be guiltless of violation of the lottery law, he determined to relieve the pressure upon him by having the question settled once and for all in the courts. Accordingly, he brought two actions in the Supreme Court for the confiscation of the Art-Union's property and other forfeitures under the law.[40]

It is not within the province of this paper to enter a detailed discussion of the legal proceedings that were directed against the Art-Union from this time on. Much of that portion of the story is well known.[41] Perhaps, at this point, it would suffice to indicate the Union's view of the desperate situation by quoting from a letter written by Andrew Warner to a Saint Louis correspondent, June 2, 1852:

> We have been in a sea of legal troubles ever since our attempt to have the infamous Bennett punished for his gross libel. We are an unhappy illustration of the old adage 'touch pitch &c.'
>
> Bennett you are aware was indicted for his libel upon our Committee. He moved to have it quashed, and to the astonishment of every sane lawyer, in these parts at least, our newly *elected* Recorder granted the motion on the ground that our distribution in his opinion is a violation of the lottery laws. Bennett felt so happy in escaping the Penitentiary upon technical grounds, thought he would endeavour to destroy the Institution that had placed him in jeopardy—and having the *wise* opinion of the Recorder before him—purchased the assignment of a certificate of membership and applied for and obtained an injunction to prohibit our distribution on the ground of its violation of law &c.—The matter was argued, but the Judges finding Bennett had no right of action dismissed the case and dissolved the injunction without deciding the lottery question. Our troubles were not yet over. The District Attorney, after the injunction discovery of the Recorder, felt it to be his duty to have our right to distribute tested, and made application to have the paintings on the catalogue forfeited under the lottery laws. The case was fully argued in the Supreme Court early in May and we have been daily expecting a

[40] *Supplementary Bulletin of the American Art-Union* [Series for 1851, No. XI], May 1, 1853, p. 2.

[41] See "The American Art-Union" by Charles E. Baker, in Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union 1816–1852* (The New-York Historical Society, 1953), I: 232–233.

decision. We shall probably have it in a few days—Those that heard the argument think it must be in our favor. . . .

Warner's optimism was indeed short-lived. On June 11th the Supreme Court, the presiding judge dissenting, declared the American Art-Union lottery system to be illegal and unconstitutional. In subsequent appeals, the judgment in one case was reversed; in the other, upheld. In the first case—the People against the Art-Union—a judgment for the confiscation of all the pictures intended for distribution in December 1851 was reversed on the ground that the property legally belonged to the subscribers, who were innocent of any attempt to violate the State constitution. In the second case—The Governors of the Alms Houses against the Art Union—the Court of Appeals confirmed the judgment whereby "three hundred dollars, being three times the value of a picture entitled 'The Huguenots going to worship in Charleston Harbor,' [were] forfeited to the plaintiffs according to the provisions of the revised statutes entitled, 'Of raffling and lotteries.' "[42]

Thus ended the history of the American Art-Union as it operated from 1839 to 1852—an active organization involved in the occupation of buying works of art from the artists themselves and distributing them to an eager public, of maintaining a perpetual free gallery for the exhibition of such works, and of developing a patronage for artists that was importantly realized by the many who benefited and were supported by it. The Union tried for a time by other methods to continue in its encouragement of American art and artists, but its activities were now so reduced as to render the institution almost completely ineffectual.

That the loss of the Art-Union was deeply felt and regretted in many quarters is adequately evidenced in many of the written and published statements that appeared in the years following 1852. Addressing Andrew Warner from The Hague, October

[42] Henry R. Selden, *Reports of cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals of the State of New York* . . . (Albany: W. C. Little & Co., 1854), III: 228–240.

18, 1853, Eastman Johnson[43] paints a lively picture of the unfortunate situation in which the Art-Union's passing had left him and his fellow-artists:

> Since the American Art Union met its intimely [*sic*] & unnatural death at the hands of the *N. York Herald* & its unprincipled clique, enemies alike to Art, justice, & decency, I have been, in common with a great many of my countrymen abroad, who it is possible, most fully experienced the benefit of this institution, at a loss in what manner to dispose of my pictures at home, where to send them, or what to do with them—Without previous orders, or any fixed destination for what one produces, or an acquaintance among those who accept such commissions & which will secure their proper reception & exposition, there seems to be for those artists here, whose reputation at home has not been previously made, no means whatever of communicating with the public, or bringing their works in the least degree into view—This great inconvenience & in fact misfortune, may be chiefly felt by those of our artists who are abroad, & who came for purposes of study & improvement, and more especially by those whose career in Art may be said to have begun here. . . .
>
> The destruction of the A. Union, therefore, has withdrawn indispensable assistance, & has left them no possible resource upon which they can rely for the exhibition & possible sale of their pictures, an advantage which is necessary to their progress & success here, & even to their existence as artists, & without which they must give up the facilities they have sought at so much present sacrifice & return to the chances that await them at home. . . .

A select committee of the Assembly of the State of New York, appointed April 15, 1853, in response to a petition from "sundry citizens" to enquire into the affairs of the American Art-Union, stated that the directors of the Union may have been impractical in the handling of funds but that:

> It is due to the committee of management of this institution that your committee should report that no evidence was presented to impair their integrity as highly honorable men; and that they embarked in the enterprise of establishing this institution, actuated by a sincere desire to promote the fine arts in this country, there exists not a doubt in the minds of your committee. . . .[44]

[43] Eastman Johnson (1824–1906), Associate Member of the National Academy, 1860; National Academician, 1860–1906.

[44] *Documents of the Assembly of the State of New York, 76th Session, 1853* (Albany: 1853), VI: No. 115.

A writer in a national magazine in 1855 stated that:

Public sentiment is decidedly in favor of these art unions, with their prize systems, as an effective means of diffusing a popular taste for art, and although a venal press, whose columns daily teem in advocacy of doctrines degrading to human nature, had the power to suppress a laudible enterprise of that kind in this city, yet the very parties who acted now regret their agency in the matter, and have been heard to express wishes for a reestablishment of a similar institution. . . .[45]

In later years Worthington Whittredge affirmed that the Art Union was largely responsible for the development of genre painting in this country—"not so much by buying them . . . as by the encouragement it gave to native art. . . ."[46] And Asher B. Durand credited it not only with the multiplication of American artists but also, in large part, with the stimulation "of a taste for art in the community. . . . Through it," he said, "the people awoke to the fact that art was one of the forces in society."[47]

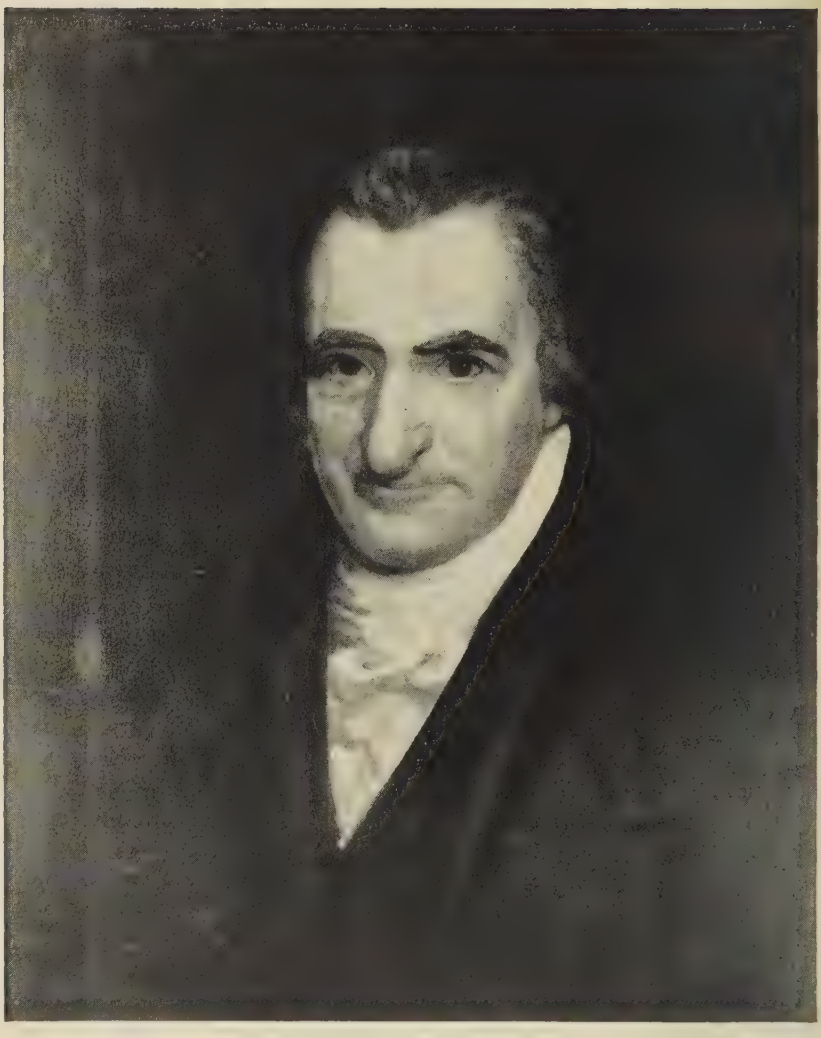
We have observed that the loss of the American Art-Union was deeply felt and is thus recorded in the annals of this nation's art. It has been declared that even the most active antagonists regretted its suppression in after years. Whatever the legal aspects were, we have also seen how it was possible for one disappointed and unsuccessful artist, whose deeply personal aversion for the Art-Union was built on unfair and flimsy grounds, could cause indirectly the destruction of a large and influential organization. With the aid and encouragement of an editor dedicated to a sensational press, Whitley started the machinery of its catastrophe which, once started, worked rapidly.

"And thus by such a hand . . . was accomplished the downfall of the old American Art-Union."

[45] "Progress of Art in this Country," in *United States Magazine of Science, Art, Manufactures, Agriculture, Commerce, and Trade,* II (1855), 262.

[46] Whittredge, *op. cit.*, 66, where the writer also claimed that Eastman Johnson's well-known picture, "The Old Kentucky Home"—"although painted after the Union was broken up, would never have been painted . . . had it not been for an inspiration begotten of the Union and born of love of his country . . . ."

[47] John Durand, *Life and Times of A.B. Durand,* 172.



THOMAS PAINE (1737–1809)
By John Wesley Jarvis, *c.* 1805
Courtesy of the owner, Miss Marian Bridge Maurice

THOMAS PAINE AND THE NEW YORK *PUBLIC ADVERTISER*

by A. Owen Aldridge*

DURING the last two years of his life, Paine published in New York newspapers a number of letters and editorials as bitter and acrimonious as any writing during his stormy career as a propagandist. Most of this extensive political controversy has never appeared in any edition of Paine's works, and much of it has never been reprinted in any form.

The most recent edition of Paine's works has consistently been praised for the one quality which it does not possess—inclusiveness.[1] Despite the almost unanimous opinion of reviewers, this edition is not definitive or complete, and it does not include, as its editor claims, "all of Paine's writings available" at the time of publication. The group of writings not included which I now propose to discuss consists of Paine's contributions to the New York *Public Advertiser*. Some of these pieces were reprinted by Gilbert Vale in *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: 1841) and have been easily available ever since. Frank Smith used them in his *Thomas Paine, Liberator* (New York: 1938). Apparently none of the reviewers who praised the Foner edition for its inclusiveness were aware that Smith had used Paine materials which

* Professor Aldridge, during the past year, was Fulbright Lecturer in American Civilization at the Universités de Toulouse et de Clermont-Ferrand on leave from the University of Maryland. His researches on Paine materials in France have uncovered "about twice as many documents of French provenance as appear in the latest [Foner] edition of his works." Mr. Aldridge has already published articles discussing other publications by Paine between 1778 and 1786 which are not included in the Foner edition: "Why Did Thomas Paine Write on the Bank," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIII (1949), 309–315; and "Some Writings of Thomas Paine in Pennsylvania Newspapers," in *American Historical Review*, LVI (1951), 832–838. Because of the abundance of new material which he has unearthed, Mr. Aldridge is undertaking a fresh biography of Paine.

[1] Philip S. Foner ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: 1945), Complete in Two Volumes.

Foner had not included.[2] Of the twenty-odd pieces in the *Public Advertiser* which can be positively identified as Paine's, Foner prints only seven. These he prints not from the newspaper itself, but from *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays on Various Subjects by Thomas Paine* (London: 1819), and he is apparently not aware of their provenance. In addition to the primarily biographical materials utilized by Vale and Smith, there are many other important writings of Paine in the *Public Advertiser*. These include letters and editorials on English affairs, on the conduct of Chief Justice Marshall, on State-Federal relations and on Paine's projects for the defense of the New York harbor.

The exact relationship between Paine and the editors of the *Public Advertiser* is not known. The presentation of several of his pieces as editorials, the printing of at least one of them as an unsigned feature, and the harmony of Paine's personal and political attitudes with the avowed Jeffersonian principles of the organ suggest that Paine acted as more than a mere contributor to the *Public Advertiser*—that he served either as editorial consultant or policy-maker. Opposition papers even charged that Paine controlled the sheet. One of these asserted, for example:

> We have indeed lately noticed several things, in the *New York Public Advertiser*, (a paper recently establishment [*sic*] under the auspices of Mr. *Paine*) which had reference to events, of a political nature, concerning which the public, generally, have no sort of knowledge and coming through that source, have attached very little importance to them. As the "*National Intelligencer*" has lost much of the confidence of the Administration, . . . we may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, that *Thomas Paine*, has been charged with the commission of *The New York Public Advertiser*, and that hereafter, the "exclusive patriots," are to be informed, through that channel, of what is *really* going on in the cabinet; although given to the swinish multitude, as surmises, conjectures &c.

[2] Other available materials are also omitted from the Foner edition. For example, James Cheetham published in his *Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: 1809) a letter from Benjamin Rush alluding to extracts from a letter by Paine on the slave trade published in the *Columbian Magazine*. L. H. Butterfield has pointed out that the entire letter (March 16, 1790) is now in the Library of Congress; it "informs BR, *inter alia*, that Paine is taking the key of the Bastille to London to transmit to George Washington as a gift from Lafayette; . . . it was published in L. C., Quart. Jour. of Acquisitions I (1943–1944), 17–22."—*Letters of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton: 1951), II, 1007–1010. Other manuscript letters of Paine are also available.

This charge was reprinted in the *Public Advertiser* (November 6, 1807) with the following introductory comments neither affirming nor denying the connection with Paine:

> The Editor of the Boston Gazette, gives the following preface to a paragraph, published originally in Bronson's U. S. Gazette, relative to a letter, said to be written by the president to *Mr. Paine*—On our affairs with England. The article obtains a place in this paper, merely to exhibit the absurdity and petulance of its author. . . .

The accusations of opposition newspapers in this period of American history should not be taken too seriously. Linking Paine with the President was a frequent and effective means of attacking Jefferson, and would have been an obvious trick to discredit the *Public Advertiser*. There may, on the other hand, be some truth in the insinuation. From 1805 to 1808 the official editor of the *Public Advertiser* was Jacob Frank, but Paine himself asserted that there were other editors, perhaps including himself.[3] But whether or not Paine held any editorial post, he did use the newspaper as a political outlet during the last period of his life.

One of Paine's most important statements in the paper concerns the tactics of the opposition press in using him as the symbol of irreligion to undermine the administration and in reviving his religious opinions to attack his political principles. His statement on this subject in the *Public Advertiser* (April 22, 1807), now reprinted for the first time, grew out of his theories on the best method of defending New York from threatened naval attacks.

> In the news paper of Jesuit Zachariah Lewis[4] about three weeks ago was a piece containing remarks on a compliment paid to me in the N. Intelligencer respecting a publication on gun boats, on which parson Lewis says, more is "*meant than meets the eye.*" As I supposed this remark was preparatory to some electioneering trick to be played off about Religion, at the ensuing election, as the trick about fortification was played off at the election for charter officers I sent a piece signed with my name to the Public Advertiser to prevent any such jesuistical trick being started, for I know of my own knowledge that the federal faction will *swear and lie and talk about religion.*—But the papers have been so

[3] Foner ed., *Writings*, II, 974.
[4] Editor and publisher of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*.

occupied about the election that the piece has not yet appeared. I therefore authorise the Editors of the Public Advertiser to shew it to Parson Lewis if he has a mind to see it.

The piece in question is probably that published in the *Public Advertiser* of July 21, 1807, "Of the Comparative Powers and Expence of Ships of War, Gunboats, and Fortifications."[5] In this minor treatise, he advocates the use of a large fleet of small gunboats, maneuverable and fast, instead of bulky warships.

At this time the question of fortifying New York harbor was one of the chief political issues dividing the Federalists and Republicans.[6] Paine was involved both as an individual and as a loyal Republican. He explained his personal stake in the controversy in a long letter in the New York *American Citizen* (November 13, 1806)—another letter absent from Foner's edition. This highly important letter, in addition to exposing the underlying political tensions in the debate over fortifications, reveals a personal hostility toward Rufus King:

The American Citizen of Nov. 5 says "There appeared in the *People's Friend* (the paper of the emissary Cullen, alias Carpenter) of yesterday, in the Commercial Advertiser, and in the Evening Post, a two column essay signed *A Friend to Peace*, which from first to last of it is a bitter invective against the national administration for not fortifying the port of New-York.—This essay, written by some federal hand, most probably by *Mr. King*, made its appearance the same morning in his excellency's quid paper the Morning Chronicle. See the People's Friend and Morning Chronicle of yesterday."

The first remark that offers itself upon this subject is the choice which the writer or writers of the fore-mentioned two column essay made of the newspaper in which their piece appeared. They chose for that purpose the paper of the emissary Cullen, alias Carpenter, whose paper is

[5] Foner, II, 1072–1077. The view that naval power has only limited value Paine presents also in "Of the English Navy," in *American Citizen*, January 7, 1807 (Foner, II, 687–688) and "On the Question, Will There Be War?" in *Public Advertiser*, August 15, 1807 (Foner, II, 1012–1017).

[6] The newspaper controversy over gunboats and fortifications for the protection of United States harbors later became even more intense after a message by Jefferson to Congress on the subject. Immediately afterwards military and civilian authorities swamped the newspapers with letters and projects. Among writers of note, not only Paine but also Jonathan Williams, Franklin's nephew, who had acquired naval experience during the Revolution and who had served as inspector of fortifications and superintendent at West Point, contributed plans for fortifications to the *Public Advertiser*. See issues of August 4 and 19, 1807, and of February 12, 1808.

continually filled in the first place with abuse and blackguardism against the national administration, to which the proposed address of the federal faction for fortifying the port of New-York is to be addressed, which shews that this proposed address is a mere trick for the purpose of amusing the people. In the second place, the paper of this emissary, whom the anglo-federal faction protects, for it is they who protect them and not the people, is crammed with the most vulgar and outrageous abuse against the French nation, the French government, and the French minister at Washington; and now this emissary and those who associate with him are crying out to the citizens of all the other states to be at the expence of fortifying New-York against the apprehended consequences of their own abuse, for that is the only danger to which the place is exposed.

The people of Boston, of Philadelphia, of Baltimore, of Charleston, and other commercial places, all which are approachable by ships of war, do not call on New-York to be at the expence of fortifying *their* town; why then does a faction in N. York call on them? The answer is, that those places though they have their local disputes, do not harbour an emissary of one belligerent nation against another belligerent nation, and a federal faction in New-York does.

The faction says in their before mentioned address, that, "among the most important duties of government is the application of the public funds to the means of security against foreign invasion and *insult*." But it is the faction itself that give the *insult* by their continually insulting the French nation and government, and now they want to be protected against the apprehended consequences of that insult. It is an insult to France to harbour the emissary Cullen, alias McCullen, alias Carpenter, for he has passed by all these names and it would be an insult to England to harbour a French emissary. A neutral nation violates its neutrality when it harbours the emissary of any belligerent nation. It was the doing of this that was the cause of the overthrow of Swisserland. Basle, in Swisserland, was the harbour of British emissaries.

If Rufus King is the writer of the forementioned foolish piece, for it is tediously and foolishly written, he must know, for he has been (God knows!) a foreign minister himself, that it is an injunction on every foreign minister to transmit a weekly account to his government, if the opportunity offers, of every thing that passes in the nation to which he is sent that has reference to the interest of the nation he represents. The movements therefore of the anglo-federal faction in New-York will of consequence be known to the French government, but at the same time that government will see, by the opposition made to those movements, that they are the work of a vulgar and despicable faction and not of the people. And so far as the writer of this, (who is the same person who wrote the pamphlet *Common Sense* the beginning of January 1776, and the several numbers of the Crisis during that war) has made an op-

position to those movements, and distinguished between the faction and the people, he has been the friend of the people. As to the faction itself, *Thomas Paine* cares nothing about it, but he has been civil enough to warn it of its danger.

If Rufus King, in case he is the writer of the piece in Cullen's paper of November 4, and in the Morning Chronicle of the same day, will say in direct terms what he there insinuates indirectly, that *Thomas Paine invited two or three thousand French troops to plunder the city*, Thomas Paine will honor Rufus King with a prosecution for LYING. A faction must be in a lamentable condition indeed when it is obliged to seek refuge in lying. It ought to recollect that nothing is more easy than to tell a lie and nothing more difficult than to support the lie after it is told.

But all this affectation about fortifying New-York is a mere electioneering federal bubble. Why did they not think of it in the administration of John Adams, or in that of Washington? Why is it made a subject at *this* time, and was not at *that time?* New-York is in no more danger *now* than it was *then*, nor than any other commercial town or city of the union is in, except it be the danger the faction brings upon it by harbouring and encouraging an emissary of one belligerent nation against another.

But supposing, for the sake of supposition, that the other states would agree to be at the expence of fortifying New-York, which is next to certain they will not, for all the Atlantic States have commercial towns of their own, how, I ask, is New-York to be fortified, for I deny the practicability of fortifying it. It is nature more than art that renders places defensible, and the situation of N. York does not admit of defence. Were any foreign power disposed to attack it, they would not attack it in front by ships of war. They would pass by the city either on the east river, or the north river, or both, and land their troops some miles above the city and march down upon it, or they would come down the east river for that purpose, or they would land on the east shore of Long-Island and march across the island and pass the east river in boats they would bring with them. If the federal faction will exhibit their plan of defence, if they have any, the writer of this will shew them the absurdity of it, for he believes that he knows more, because he has seen more, of fortified places than they have.

The case is, that New-York is the worst situation for defence that could be chosen. The original plan for building the city was at Harlaem, which is a better situation both for commerce and defence than the point of the island is where the city now stands. The waters of the North river and the East river, by means of the river at Kingsbridge unite at Harlaem, and the market would be seven or eight miles nearer the country than it now is.

Carpenter, described in the above letter as the "emissary Cullen, alias Carpenter" was an opposition journalist whom Paine

had attacked with the same fury he was later to manifest against James Cheetham, editor of the *American Citizen*. In 1806, however, Paine and Cheetham were on good terms, and nearly all of Paine's pieces of that year appeared for the first time in the *American Citizen*.[7] Paine assaulted Carpenter in four stinging attacks in the *American Citizen*, all of which are absent from the Foner edition. The first of these (October 11, 1806) I shall omit since Paine summarized it in his next communication to the *American Citizen* (October 28, 1806), entitled "The emissary Cullen otherwise Carpenter," which follows:

> In Cullen's emissary paper clandestinely entitled the *People's Friend* of October is a piece signed *Hamilton*, in which several notorious falsification [*sic*] are made from a publication of mine entitled Communication in the [N. Y.] American Citizen of October, 11th, and the falsifications thus made are imposed upon the public as literal extracts from that communication.
>
> On Saturday, October 19, I made a written copy of those falsifications, and desired a friend of mine to call on Cullen or Carpenter, or whatever his travelling name may be, and read the said falsifications to him, and also a note written by myself in my own name, asking him if he was the writer of those falsifications and of the piece signed *Hamilton* from which I had copied them, or to declare who the writer of them was.
>
> The gentleman who undertook to see Carpenter upon this business called at his [Carpenter's] printing office the next day, but could get no intelligence of him. He then left word with the person in the office that he would call again the next day, Monday, and that he had something to communicate to Mr. Carpenter. The gentleman called accordingly, but Carpenter was not to be found. He left the same message for the next day, Tuesday, and called the third time, but Carpenter was not to be found. He then enquired of the persons in the office who appeared to belong to it, where Carpenter lived or lodged. They said they did not know, but they believed it was a good way off. They also told him he might leave his message with them; but as the gentleman's business was to see Carpenter and to read a message to him from me, and as he found after calling three times that Carpenter kept himself obscured he came away and I desired him to call no more.
>
> An emissary is always a skulking character. His business is lying and

[7] These include the following pieces in Foner, the first two of which are printed without reference to the *American Citizen:* June 27th, "Of the Cause of Yellow Fever, and the Means of Preventing It" (Foner, II, 1060–1066); October 17th, "A Challenge to the Federalists to declare their principles" (Foner, II, 1007–1010); October 20th, "Of the term Liberty of the Press" (Foner, II, 1010–1011).

deceiving. He shuns the public and is afraid that every enquiry about him is for the purpose of apprehending him.

The publication of mine entitled *Communication* in the American Citizen of Oct. 11th, which Cullen or Carpenter in his paper of Oct. 23d has falsified, was written to impress on the mind of the people of New-York some apprehension of the danger to which they might expose themselves and the city by giving protection and encouragement to the emissary of one belligerent nation to the injury of another belligerent nation.

The United States profess to be a neutral nation and as such she cannot harbour an emissary of either of the belligerent nations. If that emissary be demanded by the party injured, the nation harbouring him must give him up or take the consequence. Nations do not settle their disputes by law suits; for there is no court to try such disputes in. They complain first of some real or supposed injury, and if it is not explained or redressed by the government of the nation they complain to, they redress themselves; for nations, with respect to each other, are like individuals in a state of nature. We have no laws respecting emissaries, and therefore emissaries are a sort of *outlaws* that must take just what fare or fate they meet with.—They are not entitled to protection. They violate, like spies, the laws of hospitality and expose to danger the place that harbors them.

In the piece entitled *Communication*, before spoken of, I stated that the British ministry sent emissaries to some of the states of Germany to carry on conspiracies against France, and that when the French government found it out they sent an armed force and seized those emissaries, and that two of the English ministers resident at those German states had to fly the country. Drake, the English minister at Munich was one of them.—"It is not, said I, because New-York is more remote from France than those states were that conspiracies can be carried on with greater safety or ought to be permitted. Two or three thousand French troops would soon scour New-York and *carry off a cargo of conspirators*." Carpenter, among other falsifications, has falsified this passage, which was a caution against the danger of harbouring him, and *made it into an invitation for two or three thousand French troops to come over and plunder the merchants*." If Carpenter should be prosecuted, and convicted of *lying*, he cannot complain his sentence is hard. But *lying* is so naturally the mother tongue of an emissary that *truth* is to him like a foreign language.

The cases I stated with respect to emissaries sent by the British ministry to Germany ought to have put the federalists of New-York on their guard, for their own safety sake, not to countenance or encourage Carpenter. This was the more necessary for the men calling themselves federalists to do, because their own political character is very doubtful. They have never declared what their principles are, or for what purpose they are federalized.—Their language is abuse instead of argument; and

as far as their conduct discovers their motives, for as to principle they have none, their leaders are an English faction disaffected to the peace of the United States.

Carpenter came to the United States about the same time that Pitt, whose meanness was equal to his ignorance, sent his emissaries into Germany. Carpenter is the successor of Porcupine. He is his equal in blackguardism but not in wit.—The one had talents, the other is a fool that has not talents enough to be a knave.

I am not entering into a contest with this emissary. I am exposing him; and putting the federalists, or rather those who have been deceived by that faction, on their guard against him, and having done so *I leave them.* The republicans have nothing to fear. They are not the abettors of conspiracies against a friendly power.

A week later (November 5, 1806) Paine published a number of extracts from the *Philadelphia Aurora*, charging Carpenter with acting as a British agent. After these extracts (which I am omitting), Paine gave the following original comments:

That the federal faction associated with the emissary *Cullen* is proved by their advertising their nomination of charter officers in his paper. They now begin to cast him off. Two of the federal editors, Coleman and Lewis, have each of them published against him. How is this change to be accounted for? For every change must have a motive.

A writer in the American Citizen of October 28, under the signature of a *Republican*, supposes the cause to be jealousy of Cullen as their literary rival; but there could be no occasion for this, for Cullen is but a poor creature. The Philadelphia Aurora of the 28th concludes it to be a quarrel about the division of the spoil, that is, about the division of the million pounds sterling which Cobbett (Porcupine) says the English government expends in America. The more fool they for doing so—for though the generality of Newspaper Printers may be bought or hired to Print any thing, the farmers, who are the main stay of the country, care nothing about the clamour of Printers, nor about the ravings of anonymous scribblers. These things serve them to laugh at. The Press is become too common to be credited unless the writer be known.

But without supposing any other cause why the federalists have thrown off Cullen, the case is, that the project which this emissary went upon, that of an alliance offensive and defensive with Britain, would have been the ruin of the merchants, the greater part of whom are of the federal faction. These men, though ignorant in politics, have, from habit, some talent for speculation; and they could not but see, unless they were stone-blind, that if such an alliance was formed that the whole of the carrying trade would be lost at once, for the United States after that alliance would no longer be a neutral nation, nor be considered or

treated as such. And as men when they begin to think do not stop at the first thought, for thought begets thought, they would soon see that the trade to Bordeaux which is greater than the trade to London would be lost also; and by thinking a little farther they would discover that Amsterdam and all the ports of the continent of Europe would be shut against American vessels as they are now shut against the English. Allies must share the same fate.

Whether Coleman and Lewis saw this before the faction to which they belong discovered it, I leave to be settled among themselves. They might also apprehend that the continual abuse and blackguardism in Cullen's infamous paper against the French nation, the French government, and the French minister at Washington, could not long, and would not always, pass unnoticed.

In the meantime the *Philadelphia Aurora* had published further abuse of Carpenter. Paine added to it some unsavory details he had picked up in New York and published the whole as a further letter on November 19th:

In former communications respecting this impostor, I mentioned that Duane, the editor of the Philadelphia Aurora, knew him both in England and in India. Before I state Duane's further account of him I will relate what I have been told of him in this city, N. York.

This man arrived in this city (N.Y.) about four years ago and lodged at a house in which a friend of mine then was. Cullen at that time passed by the name of Mac Cullen, and as it often happens to men of his description that when the liquor is *in* the wit is *out*, he often let himself out very foolishly. He vauntingly said he had been offered great sums of money by the English ministry not to write against them. He went to his room one day when he was in his capers, and dressed himself in an English regimental uniform, and came to shew himself. [NB. He has been a regimental deputy pay-master, and is the son of Cullen the box keeper of Crow street Theatre, Dublin]

In his journey from New-York he called on Duane at Philadelphia, to sell him some types, and desired Duane to conceal his name and not to expose him. Duane replied, (see the Aurora of Nov. 1st) "As to revealing your secret you have no right to impose secrecy upon me. At the same time it will depend on yourself to furnish a motive for silence or publicity on the subject; and *that* will depend entirely upon the object of your coming to this country and the course you mean to pursue in it."

Cullen. "My purpose is to have no concern with party or politics. I wish to purchase a snug farm near Washington if I can, and to occupy my leisure in literary pursuits, totally distant from politics with which I have done forever."

Duane. "In such a case, I can have no motive for interfering with you

or your name—but let me observe that from the knowlege [*sic*] which I have of you and your political connections in England I should be very apt to suspect that you came to this country with very different views."

Cullen. "By no means. I have done with politics forever."

Duane. "If you have come to this country for the purpose you say, and I shall not dispute it unless good reasons appear to the contrary; if you are not come here as an enemy to civil liberty, as an *emissary of the English minister* (meaning Pitt who sent emissaries into Germany) and do not pursue the same course of politics here that you did in London, your secret shall be kept; but let me tell you, that if you attempt to interfere in the political concerns of this country, or attempt to attack the principles of the government, I shall consider myself not only bound to expose you, but to present you to the world in the most open and unreserved manner."—Duane bought his types and here the conversation ended.

Duane then continues his account of this emissary by saying, that "he (Cullen) was in the pay of the official paper of the British treasury—that Windham, the patron of Porcupine, was his patron—that his name is Cullen and not Carpenter and that he is an Irishman, but an advocate of England (meaning the oppressions of England over Ireland.)—A man, continues Duane, so branded with infamy may be worthy of federal protection and countenance, but the American nation being thus explicitly apprised of the character of this emissary will be able at once to value his writings and the views of his supporters." Here ends Duane's account of him in the Aurora of November 1.

In the Aurora of the 6th Duane renews the subject—"It is, says he, an act of public justice to pursue this fellow Cullen, alias Carpenter, through all his windings. The countenancing such an impostor is a stigma on society; and the maintenance of him in one of our capital cities (New-York) is a libel on the country, its morals, and its justice. While this man Cullen edited the Charleston Courier we rarely noticed him; but his conduct there became such that it drew forth from some person well informed a portraiture of the man. His departure soon followed.

"His course since he has been put in possession of a paper at New-York we have watched, because that city is the chief rendezvous of English influence and the principal asylum of old Toryism.

Aurora, Nov 7—"The English emissary, Cullen, at New-York has never stated his transaction as a deputy pay-master under the appointment of Mr. Windham (Porcupine's patron) We are to presume that his "*miscarriage*" in that situation produced his transit to the United States and the *change of his name to Carpenter*." Here end the extracts from the Aurora.

The conduct and character of this man, Cullen alias McCullen, alias Carpenter are so very suspicious that unless he can give some satisfactory

account of himself, and on what recommendation he came to this country, and call on some person of character to attest and answer for him, he ought not to be permitted to stay in the city. His continuance here will bring trouble. He is marked with all the suspicious tokens of an impostor and he exhibits the character of an emissary.

As he is a British subject, and not a citizen of the United States, and is a stranger here and in disguise, will Mr. Erskine the British minister take him under his patronage and answer for him? If not, it will be best to send him away. This is giving Cullen a chance he does not deserve.

It is a circumstance not easily accounted for, that at the very instant Mr. Erskine, a gentleman of fair fame and respectable connections, is arrived at Washington on a mission to the government of the United States, that an impostor under a borrowed name and furnished with British regimentals, is employing himself in abusing, with the most infamous language of drunken intoxication, the same government Mr. Erskine is commissioned to treat with. Can Rufus King or any man of mischief explain this?

Between January and March of the next year (1807) Paine transferred his writing from the *American Citizen*, to the *Public Advertiser*, presumably because the editor of the former paper, James Cheetham, had begun to waver in his Republican loyalties. Shortly after Paine's switch, Carpenter brought suit against the *Public Advertiser*, but failed to specify his charges. An anonymous letter immediately appeared in the *Public Advertiser* (April 8, 1807) repeating the story of Paine's vain efforts to confront Carpenter. The author, probably Paine himself, welcomed Carpenter's suit since it would require Carpenter to make an appearance in court:

He will now have to identify himself and prove who he is, and upon what recommendation he came to America, and get some persons of respectability if he can to attest for him. We have not established liberty as an asylum for imposters. Mr. Duane of Philadelphia knew him both in India and in England, and can prove that he did not then go by the name he now goes by, and the man that changes his name is an imposter. . . .

Thomas Paine will also know where to find him when the prosecution comes on, for he concealed himself from all the inquiries Mr. Paine made to find him or his place of residence. The case is, that Cullen's paper had falsified a publication written by Mr. Paine and published in the *Citizen*, on the danger to which a neutral nation exposed itself by harboring an *Emissary*, or a suspected emissary, of one belligerent nation

against another belligerent nation. This publication was falsified in Cullen's paper insidiously entitled, "*The People's Friend.*" Mr. Paine copied off the falsifications and desired a friend of his, a merchant in John Street, to call on Cullen, and read the falsifications to him, and demand who was the writer of them. . . . but Carpenter was not to be found, nor could any account be given of him. Mr. Paine will now know where to find him.

In the same month Paine addressed three indignant open letters to Governor Morgan Lewis of New York State, who was then engaged in suing one of Paine's Republican associates for libel. In the third letter Paine suggested that Cullen and other prosecutors of damage suits made a business of libel.[8] "It often happens" he asserted, "that the prosecutor for damages is himself the calumniator. . . . As the matter stands at present, a rogue has a better chance than an honest man." Paine maintained that he himself had been more abused by political faction than any other man in the United States, Jefferson excepted, but had refused to prosecute his detractors. "Had there been a law to punish calumny and lying by penalty and the money to be given to the poor, I would have done it. But as to damages, as I do not believe they have character of their own to endamage mine, I could claim none."

Before these letters to Lewis, the *Public Advertiser* had carried Paine's essay "Of Gun Boats," which Foner reprints,[9] and two other essays, not in Foner, in which Paine combines his views on fortifications with observations on internal New York politics. In these essays, entitled: "Remarks, on a String of Resolutions offered by Mr. Hale, to the New York House of Representatives at Albany" (April 3, 1807) and "Remarks on Mr. Hale's String of Resolves Concluded" (April 4, 1807), Paine vindicates New York State for having consolidated its impost revenue for the general benefit of the Union. Showing no sympathy for a

[8] Foner prints these three letters (II, 968–975), but without their dates. His text of the third letter, which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of April 23, 1807, is deficient. In the first sentence, he leaves out the material in brackets below: "In this letter I shall continue my observations on damages [generally, and take Morgan Lewis in my way. There are two descriptions of men in the world who cannot suffer damages.—] The one is . . ."

[9] Vol. II, 1067–1072.

burgeoning theory of States rights, he points out that the action of New York had worked to its benefit and brought about its commercial prosperity.

In another primarily political piece, Paine interpreted recent British history, disparaging England as a world power somewhat in the manner in which Burke had previously disparaged France. This brief discourse published June 1, 1807, and bearing the signature: One Who Knows England, has never before been reprinted or attributed to Paine. Identification is based on Paine's acknowledgment in a letter which will appear later in this discussion. Entitled "Of the Affairs of England," the article asserts:

> The English nation and Government exhibit at this time a curious spectacle to the world. Their king and the cabinet are quarreling, and their partizans in this country, the fed and tory faction, know not which side to take.
>
> Their military affairs also are in as bad condition as their domestic. They began this war themselves and they cannot now see their way out of it. Bonaparte has turned all their projects against them.—Grenville in his speech on the dispute between the king and the cabinet (see the Public Advertiser of Monday May 25) spakes [*sic*] of the wretched condition of the coalition against France on the continent. He then looks forward with apprehension to two circumstances he thinks probable. The one, peace on the continent; the other, the continuance of the war with England; two circumstances he says "particularly dangerous to this country." —The war on the continent was set on foot by the English Government to ward off the descent upon England and as all the partizans England had on the continent have been defeated it is probable they would make peace if they could. This is what Grenville is afraid of.
>
> The murderous battle of Prussian Eylau, the last we have news of, between the French and Russians, in which the feds and tories say the French were defeated, took place on the 8th February. Grenville's speech in the English parliament is dated March 23, six weeks and one day after the battle, and he spakes [*sic*] in that speech of "*the total destruction of the power of France*," but he says not a syllable about any advantages gained by the Russians, so the poor feds and tories must invent some new lie.
>
> Supposing peace to take place on the continent and the war with England to continue, Grenville then alludes to an invasion of England by France. "*In case of invasion, says he, it might be necessary to shift troops from one part of the empire to another.*" We see by this that he puts no dependance on the English navy to prevent it. That navy cost [*sic*] 63 million dollars annually and it is not considered a match for the French

gun boats in making a descent and yet our federal wise acres are crying out for an American navy. But as they do this to amuse and impose upon the public, they take care to keep the evidence of a navy out of sight. The present annual revenue of the United States is about twelve million dollars. The much greater part of which is appropriated to the discharge of the national debt incurred by the revolutionary war, and the additional debts incurred by the improvident administration of Washington and Adams. The remainder is for the current expences of the year, out of which the economy of the present administration has saved a few hundred thousand dollars. But were we to go into the ridiculous project of a navy it would require new taxes to the amount of fifty million dollars. This the feds keep out of sight. But to return to the affairs of England—

In 1714 the English nation, for the principles of government were not understood at that time, sent to Hanover for a man and his family, George the first, to come and govern them. The poor man knew nothing about England, he had never been there, knew nothing of its laws, and could not spake [*sic*] a word of English, and when he got in a passion, which he often did, he used to kick his hat about the room.

His son, George the second, was the same sort of man as to dulness of capacity as his father was but not so peaceable, for the wars of George the first were carried on against his hat, but as George the second thought he knew something of military wars he was often engaged in continental wars in which England as a nation and an Island ought to have had nothing to do; and the present incumbent George the third and *last* has hardly ever been at peace; but he is sly enough to stay at home and set other nations together by the ears, and the poor English have to pay the expense till they have hardly bread to eat themselves. This is the short history of the Guelphs or *Whelps* of Hanover.

The insults which Grenville and the Cabinet complain of, and the injuries and miseries the nation suffer from the insane and mal-conduct of the present incumbent they may thank themselves for, or rather their fathers and grand-fathers who imported them from Hanover; and the best thing the nation can now do is to send them away. They may then have peace.

James Cheetham, the editor of the *American Citizen*, viewing Paine as a political foe and commercial rival, attacked this piece along with a subsequent brief address (published August 18th) by Paine "To the People of New York" on protecting the port of New York. In the latter Paine advocated the mode of obstruction which Franklin had proposed for the Delaware River in 1776 and rejected a system which Cheetham had recommended in the *American Citizen*. Foner reprints the piece of August 18,

but gives an incorrect date.[10] He does not reprint an earlier piece of August 6, 1807, on the same subject which Paine signed with the pseudonym: "An Old Friend of 76."

The subsequent reply of Paine to Cheetham's abuse is important to modern students because in it he asserts that he had not read Locke before writing *Common Sense*. Also he describes his participation in the military campaigns of the Revolution. This piece, which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of August 22, 1807, is not in the Foner edition, but Vale published part of it in his *Life of Thomas Paine*. The first part has never before been reprinted. It is here that Paine identifies the earlier discourse "Of the Affairs of England" as his own.

The Editor of the New York American Citizen, James Cheetham, has, consistently with his usual mode of abuse, published a long winded piece in his paper of Thursday last, which, without doubt, he thinks clever because it is spiteful. This piece in the Citizen is an attack on a publication of mine in the N. Y. Public Advertiser of the preceeding [*sic*] Tuesday against the project of obstructions in the channel of solid blocks of stone or earth, because such obstructions "would prevent the tide coming up and lay the wharves at the city dry and be the ruin of all the towns on the North River that depended for commerce on tide water."

Mr. Cheetham says "*that the entire obstruction recommended in this paper* (meaning his own paper) *would injure the harbor, is a thought which has occurred to every man in the city, vulgar or refined.*" Why then could not James Cheetham see it? If he had he certainly would not have proposed such a stupid project.

Mr. Cheetham has said this that I might not have the credit of being the first or only man that discovered the danger, and in the eagerness of his malignancy to do this he has libelled himself; for he has proved that every other man in the city, vulgar or refined had more sense than James Cheetham. I know not how soon other persons might see the danger of the project, but I wrote my objections against it the same day the piece appeared, which was on Saturday, and gave it to a friend on Sunday, Mr. Walter Morton, for the Public Advertiser. Mr. Morton gave the piece to the printer on Monday morning.

Mr. Cheetham in his rage for attacking every body, and every thing that is not his own, (for he is an ugly tempered man, and he carries the evidence of it in the vulgarity and forbidingness of his countenance—God has set a mark upon Cain) has attacked me on the ground of my political works, and in doing this he has exposed the barrenness of his understanding as fully as in the former case.

[10] Vol. II, 1077–1079.

He quotes the following paragraph from a short anonymous piece of mine in the Public Advertiser of June 1.

"In 1714, the English nation, *for the principles of free government were not understood at that time, sent to Hanover for a man and his family*, George the first to come and govern them."

Mr. Cheetham in remarking upon this paragraph says, "The sending of the ideot George the first is true, but the lines underscored, that is *for the principles of free government were not understood at that time*, are a libel on the venerable dead. In 1714 the principles of a free government were as well understood in England as they are now in any part of the world."

James Cheetham is such a splenetic John Bull, that he has not discernment enough to see the result of his own statements, for, if the principles of free government were as well understood in England in 1714 as they are now in any part of the world, including America, they certainly would not have sent to Hanover for an ideot to govern them! and as they did send to Hanover for an ideot to govern them, it proves that the principles of free, that is, representative government, were not understood in England at that time.

After this[11] Mr. Cheetham speaks much about *Locke*, and says, that all political elementary "writers on government since the days of Locke, including Mr. Paine, are but the mere retailers of his ideas and doctrines." This is John Bullism all over.

He also says, that "On hereditary and *elective* government, Mr. Paine, in his Common Sense and Rights of Man has followed Locke Idea for Idea." It may be so for what I know, for I never read Locke nor ever had the work in my hand, and by what I have heard of it from *Horne Tooke*, I had no inducement to read it. It is a speculative, not a practical work, and the style of it is heavy and tedious, as all Locke's writings are.

I suppose Locke has spoken of hereditary and *Elective Monarchy*, but the representative, as laid down in Common Sense and Rights of Man is an entirely different thing to elective monarchy. So far from taking any ideas from Locke or from anybody else, it was the absurd expression of a mere John Bull in England, about the year 1773, that first caused me to turn my mind to systems of government. In speaking of the then king of Prussia, called the Great Frederick, he said, "*He is the right sort of man for a king for he has a deal of the devil in him.*" This set me to think if a system of government could not exist that did not require the devil, and I succeeded without any help from anybody. It is a great deal that may be learned from absurdity, and I expect to learn something from James Cheetham. When I do, I will let him know it in the Public Advertiser.

In the conclusion of the piece of mine, which Mr. Cheetham has vomited his spleen upon, I threw out some reproach against those who instead of practising themselves in arms and artillery, that they might

[11] Vale's text of this piece begins at this point.

be prepared to defend New York, should it be attacked, were continually employing themselves on imaginary fortifications, and skulking behind Projects of Obstruction. As Mr. Cheetham supposed himself included in this description (and he thought right), he made, as he imagined, an effectual retort, but in doing this as in everything else he does, he betrayed his want of knowledge both as to the spirit and circumstances of the times he speaks of.

"I would not," says Mr. Cheetham, "charge with cowardice that gentleman (meaning me), who, in the 'times that tried men's souls,' stuck very correctly to his pen in a *safe retreat*, and never handled a musket offensively."

By this paragraph Mr. Cheetham must have supposed that when congress retreated from Philadelphia to Baltimore, in the 'times that tried men's souls,' that I retreated with them as secretary to the committee for Foreign Affairs.

In the first place, the committee for foreign affairs did not exist at that time.

In the next place, I served in the army the whole of the times that tried men's souls from the beginning to the end.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence, July 4 '76 Congress recommended that a body of ten thousand men, to be called the flying camp, because it was to act wherever necessary, should be formed from the militia and volunteers of Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. I went with the division from Pennsylvania, under General Roberdeau. We were stationed at Perth Amboy, and afterward at Bergen; and when the time of the flying camp expired and they went home, I went to Fort Lee and served as aid de camp to Greene who commanded at Fort Lee and was with him through the whole of the black times of that trying campaign.

I began the first number of the Crisis, (beginning with the well known expression, "These are the times that try men's souls") at Newark, upon the retreat from fort Lee, and continued writing it at every place we stopt at and had it printed at Philadelphia the 19th of December six days before the taking the Hessians at Trenton which, with the affair at Princetown the week after put an end to the black times.

It therefore is not true that I stuck to my pen in a safe retreat with congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore in the times that tried men's souls. But if I had done so, I should not have published the cowardice James Cheetham has done. In speaking of the affair of the Driver sloop of war at Charleston, S. C., he said in his paper, if the Driver and her comrades should take into their heads to come here (N. Y.), we must submit. What abominable cowardice, for a man to have such a thought in his mind that a city containing twenty thousand able bodied men, numbers of them as stout in person, as himself should submit to a sloop of war containing about a hundred and fifty men.

After this Mr. Cheetham will take care how he attacks old revolutionary characters whose undiscouraged intrepidity in the times that tried men's souls made a home for him to come to.

Two weeks later (September 5, 1807) Paine published another defense of his career against the fulminations of Cheetham. His title, "Farewell Reprimand to James Cheetham," proved to be somewhat inappropriate since he subsequently published other attacks equally violent. Vale reprinted this letter in his *Life of Thomas Paine*, but it is not in the Foner edition.

If James Cheetham, Editor of the New York American Citizen, thinks to draw me into a controversy with him he is greatly mistaken. In the first place, I hold him too cheap; and his well known character for abuse and blackguarding renders any altercation with him dishonorable; and besides this, it would take up too much of my time to put his blunders to rights. He cannot write without blundering, neither can he write truth, of which I will give another instance.

He quotes the following paragraph from the first part of *Rights of Man*, and then grounds a false assertion upon it.

"Every age and generation must be as free to act for itself in all cases as the ages and generations that preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man, neither has one generation a property in the generations that are to follow."

Mr. Cheetham having made this short quotation says, "Mr. Paine, here and there glances at the absurdity of hereditary government, but the passage just quoted is the *only* attempt at *argument* against it contained in the *Rights of Man*."

Is James Cheetham an ideot, or has the envy and malignity of his mind possessed him with a spirit of wilful lying?

The short passage he has quoted (which is taken from the middle of a paragraph) is on the third, and in some editions on the fourth page of the first part of *Rights of Man*. It contains a general principle on which the arguments and statements against hereditary succession are founded in the progress of that work.

If Mr. Cheetham had looked farther into the work, *Rights of Man*, he would have come to a paragraph ending with the expression, "*Hereditary succession cannot be established as a legal thing.*" The work then goes on to say,

"In order to arrive at a more perfect decision on this head (that is, that hereditary succession cannot be established as a legal thing), it is proper to consider the generation which undertakes to establish a family

with hereditary powers, apart and separate from the generations which are to follow and also to consider the character in which the generation acts with respect to succeeding generations.

"The generation which selects a person and puts him at the head of its government with the title of king, or any other distinction, acts its own choice, be it wise or foolish, as a free agent for itself. The person so set up is not hereditary, but selected and appointed, and the generation which sets him up do not live under an hereditary government, but under a government of its own choice and establishment. Were the generation which set him up, and the person so set up to live for ever, it never could become hereditary succession, and; of consequence, hereditary succession can only take place on the death of the first parties.

"As therefore hereditary succession is out of the question with respect to the first generation, we have now to consider the character in which that generation acts with respect to the commencing generation and to all succeeding ones.

"It assumes a character to which it has neither right nor title. It changes itself from a legislator to a testator, and affects to make its will, which is to have operation after the demise of the makers, to bequeath the government; and it not only attempts to bequeath, but to establish over the succeeding generation a new and different form of government under which itself lived. Itself, as already observed, lived not under an hereditary government, but under a government of its own choice and establishment, and it now attempts by virtue of a will and testament, which it has no authority to make, to take from the commencing generation, and all succeeding ones, the right and free agency by which itself acted."

Now, without giving any further extracts from the work, *Rights of Man*, on the subject of hereditary succession, what is here given ought to cover James Cheetham with shame for the falsehood he has advanced. But as a man who has no sense of honor, has no sense of shame, Mr. Cheetham will be able to read this with an unblushing front.

Several writers before Locke had remarked on the absurdity of hereditary succession, but there they stopped. Buchanan, a Scots historian, who lived more than a hundred years before Locke, reproaches Malcolm II. king of Scotland, and his father, Kenethus for making the crown of Scotland hereditary in his family, "by which means, says Buchanan, the kingdom must frequently be possessed by a child or a fool; whereas before, the Scots used to make choice of that prince of the royal family that was best qualified to govern and protect his people."

But I know of no author, nor of any work before Common Sense and Rights of Man appeared, that has exposed and attacked hereditary succession on the ground of illegality, which is the strongest of all grounds to attack it upon; for if the right to set it up do not exist, and that it does not is certain, because it is establishing a form of government, *not for themselves*, but for a future race of people, all discussion upon the subject

ends at once. But James Cheetham has not sense enough to see this.

He has got something into his head about Locke, and he keeps it there, for he does not give a single quotation from him to support the random assertions he makes concerning Locke.

"It is to Locke in particular, (says Cheetham) who wrote his incomparable essay on government in 1689, that *we* are almost wholly indebted for those political lights which conducted *us* to *our* revolution."

This is both libellous and false. The revolutionary contest began in an opposition to the assumed rights of the British parliament "*to bind America in all cases whatsoever*," and there can be nothing in Locke, who wrote in 1689, that can have reference to such a case. The tax upon Tea, which brought on hostilities, was an experiment on the part of the British government to enforce the practice of that assumed right, which was called *the declaratory act*. James Cheetham talks of times and circumstances he knows nothing of, for he did not come here till several years after the war; yet in speaking of the revolution, he uses the words *we*, and *us*, and *our* revolution. It is common in England, in ridiculing self-conceited importance, to say, What a long tail *our* cat has got!

The people of America, in conducting their revolution, learned nothing from Locke; nor was his name, or his work, ever mentioned during the revolution that I know of. The case America was in was a new one without any former example, and the people had to find their way as well as they could by the lights that arose among themselves, of which I can honestly and proudly say, I did my part.

Locke was employed by the first settlers of South Carolina to draw up a form of government for that Province, but it was such an inconsistent aristocratical thing, that it was rejected. Perhaps Mr. Cheetham does not know of this, but he may know it if he will enquire.

Mr. Cheetham hypocritically says, "I advise Mr. Paine, as a friend, to write no more."

In return for this civility in *words*, I will inform him of something for his good, which is, that he has been going down hill in the opinion of the republicans for a long time past. Good principles will defend themselves; but the abuse and scurrility in Cheetham's paper have given very general offence to his subscribers. Another complaint is, that his paper is not a newspaper. It does not give the news from Europe till it becomes old in every other paper. There are perhaps two causes for this; as a John Bull he does not like the news from Europe; and as a dabbler in scribbling, he prefers filling his paper with his own stuff.

It is probable he will be called upon to explain on what ground of compromise (for it has the appearance of a compromise) the intimacy between him and the anglo Irish emissary Cullen, alias Carpenter, began and continued. He is now giving symptoms of becoming the successor of Cullen as Cullen was the successor of Cobbett. As there is now a well-conducted republican paper established in New York (the *Public Ad-*

vertiser), Mr. Cheetham cannot have the same range for his scurrility he had before.

Despite his earlier expressed disapproval of damage suits, Paine shortly threatened to bring suit against Cheetham, first in a brief note adressed to Cheetham, published in the *Public Advertiser* (October 27, 1807), and later in an address "To the Citizens of New York" also in the *Public Advertiser* (November 20, 1807). Both are in Vale's *Life of Thomas Paine*, but not in Foner. In two subsequent letters in the *Public Advertiser*, Paine asserted that Cheetham was a British emissary attempting to cover up British plans for attacking America (January 7, 1808) and that he did not share republican principles, but was an English impostor (August 25, 1808). The first of these letters is reprinted by Vale and the second paraphrased. Neither is in Foner.

The only piece on Cheetham to be found in the Foner edition is a brief attack, "Cheetham and His Tory Paper," accusing Cheetham of "seeking to involve the United States in a quarrel with France for the benefit of England."[12] This piece appeared anonymously in the *Public Advertiser* (September 26, 1807), not with Paine's name as Foner suggests. This whole series of letters against Cheetham helps explain why the latter published his notoriously hostile *Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: 1809) immediately after Paine's death.

On a subject not connected with his personal animosities, Paine printed an essay in the *Public Advertiser* "Of the Judiciary and the Conduct of Chief Justice Marshall" (October 10, 1807). In this essay, which I propose to deal with in another publication, Paine accused Marshall of temporizing in the trial of Aaron Burr.

Quite probably Paine essays other than those which I have here discussed may be found in New York newspapers. These I have mentioned are signed either with Paine's own name or with his pseudonym Common Sense, or are acknowledged by him in other letters. Exhaustive study of internal evidence will probably bring to light other anonymous or pseudonymous pieces.

[12] Vol. II, 1017–1018.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Queen Anne's American Kings. By Richmond P. Bond. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1952. vii + [4] + 148 pages, 8 plates, notes, index. $5.00.)

In the year 1709 an ambitious plan for the capture of Canada from the French by a force of colonial troops supported by a British fleet came to naught because of the last minute diversion of the fleet to more pressing duties elsewhere. The principal promoters of the scheme, Colonels Francis Nicholson and Samuel Vetch, continued their plans, however, and proposed to send an official delegation of Iroquois Indian chiefs to visit Queen Anne to help induce the British government to continue the campaign for the reduction of Canada. The party, which included Colonel Francis Nicholson, Colonel Peter Schuyler, first mayor of Albany and friend of the Indians, Major David Pigeon and Captain Abraham Schuyler, the interpreter, and the four Indian ambassadors, reached London in April and returned to America in July, 1710. Their mission was partially successful for they not only aroused great curiosity and interest but secured sufficient support to make possible another attempt on Canada which, however, failed of its main objective but succeeded in capturing Acadia for the English. Their visit also resulted in the strengthening of the frontier defenses of New York, the supplying of a church (with a silver communion service given by the Queen) and a missionary for the Mohawk Indians and a multitude of presents for the chiefs who had formed this first official American Indian delegation to visit the Queen. The visit cemented the friendship between the British and the Iroquois and was an important factor in winning the League of the Iroquois from its former alliance with the French in Canada.

The leader of the Indian delegation was the famous Mohawk Chief Hendrick who died fighting for the English at the Battle of Lake George in 1755. The next most important of the Indians was Chief Brant, grandfather of the much more famous Chief Joseph Brant of the Revolutionary period. The others were the minor chiefs John of Canajoharie, also a Mohawk, and Nicholas, "King of the River Indians" who was probably a Mahican. On their arrival in London they were dubbed *The Four Kings of Canada*, though they were not kings and were New York and not Canadian Indians. Their visit to London was a spectacular success. They were presented at Court, were shown the sights of the city, appeared at the theatre, had their portraits painted and engraved,* were

* The most complete study of the portraits of the four chiefs is: *Portraits of "The Four Kings of Canada," A Bibliographical Footnote*. By R. W. G. Vail, which appears in: *To Doctor R. Essays Here Collected and Published in Honor of the Seventieth Birthday of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, July 22, 1946*. Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1946, p. 218–226, 2 ports.

written about by Addison, Swift and the other principal writers of the day, had popular ballads and broadsides published about them, demonstrated their prowess as warriors and hunters and returned laden with presents.

Professor Bond's *Queen Anne's American Kings* is the first careful and authoritative study of this significant and picturesque embassy. Based on the official records as well as popular contemporary publications, it gives the important causes and results of the visit and a vivid picture of the curiosity, excitement and popularity of the visit of the chiefs to London. It surveys the popular literature of the event and reproduces a few of the portraits of the chiefs which were important by-products of the visit since they were the first authentic portraits of Iroquois Indians to gain wide circulation in Great Britain and on the Continent. The book is attractively written, elaborately annotated, adequately indexed and beautifully printed. But why does the author persist, on pages 24 and 53, in calling *Lake Champlain* by the name of *Lake Champaign!*

The New-York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

Counterfeiting in Colonial New York. By Kenneth Scott. [*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 127] (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1953. [x] + 222 pages, list of manuscript sources, indexes, 13 plates, paper cover, $4.50.)

This is the most comprehensive study yet published of counterfeiting in any of the thirteen colonies. Gillingham's *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania (Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 86, 1939) is based largely on printed sources. Bowen's *Rhode Island Colonial Money and Its Counterfeiting, 1647–1726*, published by the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Wars in 1942, is exhaustive for the period covered; but it leaves the last fifty years, during which counterfeiters and their products multiplied apace, still to be done. The present work suffers from neither of these shortcomings.

The author, chairman of the Modern Language Department at Wagner Lutheran College, muscled in on the counterfeiting racket with an article in this magazine (January 1950) on "New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters Operating from New York City." Now he goes back to survey the whole field in colonial New York from the beginning down to the Declaration of Independence. His book is based on a thorough search of extant judicial records, newspapers, and other contemporary material, manuscript and printed. He tells the story chronologically, quoting at length from his sources, and summarizes his findings in a brief concluding chapter.

Counterfeiting is an intercolonial phase of American culture and of "the Atlantic civilization" which Professor Michael Kraus has strangely neglected in his writings. Makers of bad money ranged the whole eastern seaboard in plying their trade, while the various colonial governments

coöperated as best they could in pursuing or forestalling them. From the days when imitation wampum was exported from Europe to debase the Indian currency here, the production of counterfeit money was a "hands across the sea" enterprise. Seafaring men took samples of genuine provincial bills of credit to London or Dublin to have them copied and struck off in large quantities for American consumption. Samuel Ford, probably the most ambitious of American colonial counterfeiters, even went abroad himself (no Fulbrights or Rhodes scholarships in those days, unfortunately) to improve his technique in the finer points of his illicit but fascinating business. He too should be remembered, along with the more conventional eighteenth-century Americans who studied medicine at Edinburgh or law at the Middle Temple.

In general, counterfeiting receives much less attention in our histories than it got from the people about whom the histories are written. For our forefathers it was a constant problem, which, as Scott's book shows, was as far from a solution at the end of the colonial period as at the beginning.

Because of the chronic shortage of coin and the lack of a uniform circulating medium of any kind, the colonial currency system (if it can be called a system) was extremely cumbersome and complicated. English coin was scarce (its export from England was forbidden by law), and that of other countries, especially the silver of Spain and its colonies, flowed in to fill the monetary vacuum. For a while Massachusetts had a silver coinage of its own, and the first recorded case of counterfeiting in New York involved two New Jersey men presented by the sheriff of New York in 1680 "for Coyning of ffalse Boston money." Coins varied in weight, from the wear of long circulation and also because of "clipping," that is, shaving off little pieces—a profitable though usually illegal practice. Coins also differed in fineness and had to be identified and valued accordingly. This variation put ideas into people's heads. If you were too honest (or timid) to pass lead for silver, you might cheat just a little by making coins with only a substandard silver content. Thus in 1698 Gabriel Ludlow, a vestryman of Trinity Church in New York, was prosecuted for passing counterfeit dollars made from melted-down Turkish coins, which, it was pointed out during his trial, were "very little worse than the Currant Dollars." So the court let Ludlow off with a £3 fine "for the use of Trinity Church." The confusion increased with the issuing of paper money by the various colonies, which passed current in the others at varying rates of depreciation. Every few years a new emission of bills of credit could be expected from each colony. The illiterate colonial (and there were many such) could bite or ring a suspect coin, but he had no defense against spurious paper.

All in all, it was a paradise for the counterfeiter, and a standing temptation to the colonial printer or engraver or silversmith or tinker to pit his skill against that of the regularly constituted authorities, in adding to the colonial money supply. For example, Charles Hamilton, the earliest known silversmith in Poughkeepsie, was an expert maker of imitation

Spanish "cobbs." And it was easy for any printer, with some careful erasing or pasting, to convert a One-Shilling into a One-Pound, or a Two- into a Ten-Pound bill, as was reported in the New York papers in 1761. Counterfeiting took on the aspect of a major industry, involving scores, even hundreds, of people. Scott describes the activities of various New York groups, such as the "Oblong" gang in Dutchess County, the Albany County gang, and the Ford gang. Gideon Casey's gang (1768) may have been part of "a Clan of these Gentry of at least 500, who correspond thro' all the Colonies, as far as North-Carolina." Evidently they understood the importance of hanging together to avoid hanging separately, as Franklin later pointed out to the embattled patriots of the Revolution.

Actually, few counterfeiters reached the gallows. Scott lists five or six. The rest cheated the hangman through easy acquittals, jumping bail, breaking jail, or, as a last resort, a pardon from the governor. Because of loopholes in the law, most of the capital convictions come late in the period. Counterfeiting the king's coin was a capital offense by the law of England. But the imitating of foreign coin (the usual offense in the colonies) was not punishable by death in New York until 1745. Before then it could be prosecuted not as a felony but only as a cheat. Likewise, counterfeiting New York bills of credit was a non-clergyable felony in New York from the time they were first emitted in 1709; but similar protection was not extended to those of other colonies until 1766. So the counterfeiters made New York bills in New Jersey, and vice versa.

Because of these intercolonial ramifications the author frequently crosses colonial boundary lines in tracking his quarry. But, like the pursuing officers of the time, he could not go too far afield. Hence we cannot expect to have absolutely all the story for any of the colonies until it is done for each of them. This fine study of colonial New York should inspire historians of other states (for example, New England and the South) to investigate counterfeiting in their own bailiwicks. In the meantime let us hope that Professor Scott will go on with the New York story. The next installment, counterfeiting Continental currency during the Revolution, should be equally interesting and important.

University of Delaware H. Clay Reed

Firearms in the Custer Battle. By John E. Parsons and John S. du Mont. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Co., 1953. 59 pages with appendix and notes, 29 illus. $2.75.)

No other battle in our country's history has stimulated the interest and imagination of the professional soldier, the historian and the average man as much as the conflict between soldiers and Indians that occurred on the Little Big Horn late in the month of June 1876. The facts that no soldier of Custer's immediate command lived to tell the story of this action and that few Indian survivors could be prevailed upon to describe it have

provided an atmosphere of mystery to the study of this battle in which the few known facts have become clouded by a host of theories. In this monograph two experienced students of firearms have sought to present the facts regarding one of the controversial problems relating to this battle—the weapons with which it was fought. Cautiously they reviewed the evidence bearing directly and indirectly upon this subject. They found in official Army Ordnance records the most reliable sources of information. These documents reveal that Springfield .45 carbines and Colts .45 revolvers comprised the great bulk of the arms issued to enlisted men of the 7th Cavalry, while the weapons of the hostile Indians, obtained primarily from illicit gun-traders or capture of soldiers' weapons in earlier engagements, were more varied. Ordnance records listing the firearms actually surrendered by Sioux and Cheyenne hostiles in 1877, clearly indicate that those Indians owned few repeating rifles. These sober records refute the excited reports of large numbers of Winchester repeaters in the possession of the hostiles which were current at the time of the Custer Battle and shortly thereafter. In the final chapter the authors list the makes, models, and range in serial numbers of firearms that may have been in action in that battle. At the same time they wisely caution collectors regarding the impossibility of authenticating the many weapons dubiously labelled "picked up on the Custer Battlefield." The many excellent photographs of weapon types illustrating this monograph greatly enhance its value to the gun collector and the historian who recognizes that history was written in objects as well as in words.

In their text the authors have been more interested in identifying the types of firearms employed in the battle than in theorizing about *how* these weapons were employed or how their use might have influenced the tactics of the opposing forces or the progress and final outcome of the struggle. The full-color illustration on the cover, a reproduction of Theodore Pittman's painting of Custer's Last Stand, executed under Mr. du Mont's direction in 1952, portrays the traditional dramatic action depicted in many paintings that have attempted to reconstruct the scene. Mounted Indians are charging the ill-fated cavalrymen who are afoot. However, the diorama of this subject recently placed on exhibition in the new museum at Custer Battlefield National Monument presents a much less exciting scene. The few surviving soldiers are firing from behind their fallen horses while the Indians are at some distance down the slope cautiously crawling through the tall grass without exposing themselves needlessly to enemy fire. This latter view would suggest that marksmanship might have played a much more important role in the battle than the Pittman painting seems to indicate. The experienced Indian fighter, General Crook, is reported to have claimed that the Indian warrior of the period was a better shot than was the enlisted man who opposed him.

Smithsonian Institution JOHN C. EWERS

Cigar Store Figures in American Folk Art. By A. W. Pendergast and W. Porter Ware. (Chicago: Lightner Publishing Corporation, 1006 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 5, Ill., [1953]. xv + 73 pages, illus. $2.50.)

Cigar store Indians, once the familiar signs before the tobacconist's shops of the country have, for the most part, migrated to museums and private collections where they are treasured as examples of a vanished but picturesque form of our native folk art. They appeared on the Continent along with the introduction of the use of tobacco in the sixteenth century, became common in the two following centuries but were infrequently seen in the United States before the 1840s and had all but disappeared before the first World War. Most of them were carved from white pine with a few made from walnut, mahogany, oak or maple and at a later date we find them cast from zinc, pot-metal, bronze, cast iron, lead, plaster of paris and even papier maché, the two latter types for display in shop windows. Many of crude design were whittled out by inexperienced carpenters and cabinet makers but the best were the work of former ship carvers previously employed in the carving of ships' figure heads. Many of the latter were the work of famous carvers and are highly prized by their present-day owners who do not hesitate to spend several hundred dollars each for the better examples. In addition to the figures of Indian warriors and squaws these appealing cigar store figures include such subjects as the kilted Scotsman who generally advertised snuff, negroes, French Canadian trappers, fashionable ladies, dudes and such personages as Punch, Cupid, clown, minstrel, and such well-known historical or literary characters as Captain Jinks, Sir Walter Raleigh, George Washington, Columbus, Jenny Lind, Dolly Varden, Buffalo Bill, Sitting Bull, Osceola (owned by The New-York Historical Society), Jim Crow (also owned by our Society), Uncle Sam, Black Hawk, Colonel Sellers, Lord Dundreary, Pickwick, Mercury, Goddess of Liberty, Forty-Niner, John L. Sullivan (in a baseball suit), and even Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, of all people!

The first book to appear on this fascinating subject was Kate Sanborn's *Hunting Indians in a Taxi-Cab,* Boston, 1911, which was illustrated with a large collection of photographs of figures found for the most part in New York City. The present work: *Cigar Store Figures in American Folk Art,* by A. W. Pendergast and W. Porter Ware, assembles the information to be found in earlier publications, principally articles in newspapers and collectors' magazines, but includes much new and fascinating material secured from museums and collectors. It tells the history of the art, how and by whom the figures were made, when known, and gives current prices of some of the more attractive examples. Though the volume has no great literary pretentions, it does assemble a great deal of varied and interesting information and is admirably illustrated by the

use of photographs of seventy cigar store figures, most of whose portraits have not previously appeared in print. Until a better book appears, this will remain our chief authority on an interesting phase of the folk art of our country.

The New-York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850–1900. By Robert Taft. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. xvii + 400 pages, 90 illus., index. $8.50.)

Pictures are documents. On-the-spot sketches of landscape and life are records quite as valuable for detail and often more vivid than the written accounts of travelers. Happily every year the importance of the artist as reporter is being more widely recognized. Bertha L. Heilbron's publication of the F. B. Mayer diary with its many graphic impressions of the upper Mississippi and its military and Indian life in 1851, Marvin C. Ross's edition of Alfred J. Miller's two hundred sketches recording Sir William Drummond Stewart's hunting trip to the Rockies in 1837, Perry T. Rathbone's monograph on Charles Wimar, Harold McCracken's *Remington*—such books as these about the work of individual artists well illustrate the historical value of pictorial materials. Now in *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West* Robert Taft has produced a volume that surveys effectively an area and an era.

Dr. Taft's Old West begins in the days when the first trans-continental railroads were being planned and closes at the end of the century when the excitements of exploration were over and all the West was settled. The artists of that magnificent government publication *The Pacific Railroad Surveys* and particularly the greatest of them, John Mix Stanley, provide an appropriate beginning for this study of the opening of the West, for the survey parties moved out fanwise over the whole great expanse in this first systematic attempt to record it by word and sketch. From Stanley, Taft turns to H. B. Möllhausen, whose travels with Prince Paul of Württemberg and with several military parties brought him to regions not included in the railroad surveys. Another chapter carries us up the great waterway to the West with William J. Hays who in 1860 traveled by steamboat up the Missouri to the Yellowstone, picturing Fort Pierre, Fort Clark, Fort Union, and the buffalo on the northern plains. At the close of the Civil War Taft introduces the crowds of artists who went to look at the West either on their own or on commission from the pictorial weeklies such as *Harper's* or *Leslie's*. Here we mingle with Theodore R. Davis and Alfred R. Waud, Alfred E. Matthews and Henry Worrall, we see *Custer's Last Stand* painted and we journey with the Leslie Excursion of 1877. But more important than resurrecting these and many another pictorial reporter has been the author's work in re-

constructing an era by an examination of their typical and faithful pictures of its life. And that task the author has done admirably.

Dr. Taft is quite aware that most of the artists in his book will not excite art historians. He was tempted to include Moran for instance (and Whittredge and Bierstadt and Gifford, one suspects) but satisfying as such painting is, it is an interpretation, not a record. "Our chief concern," Taft explains, " is not with the artistic merit of any picture in which we are interested but rather with its values as an authentic record of our past life." The worth of his study lies in the very fact that his people were *illustrators* of the West, that they preserved the literal detail of life on the plains and in the Rockies.

He has been admirably thorough in his research conducted over many years and in his report of findings. (Many readers will recognize that this volume is based on his *Pictorial Record of the Old West* in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 1946–1952.) One hundred and thirty-three pages of notes for two hundred and forty-eight of text show his painstaking care to establish his subject. Map endpapers set before us the whole territory under exploration and a sixteen-page index adds greatly to the ease of using the book. Well chosen indeed are the ninety illustrative plates representing the work of thirty-five artists. Here is a book to be used and enjoyed by scholar and general reader alike.

Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT

The Nation. Volumes 1–105, New York, 1865–1917. Compiled by DANIEL C. HASKELL, Bibliographer of the Library (retired). *Volume 1 Index of Titles, Volume 2 Index of Contributors.* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1951–1953. iv + 577; iv + 539 pages, double columns. 2 volumes, $25.00.)

Mr. Daniel C. Haskell was for many years the Bibliographer of The New York Public Library and perhaps the most painstaking, skillful and scholarly workman in his chosen field. He compiled many bibliographies and edited the less workmanlike output of other contributors whose work appeared in the invaluable *Bulletin* of the library in serial form and as separate monographs of great scholarly value, published in well-printed, economical editions as a public service to the learned world. The bibliographer seldom receives the praise which he has earned by his years of devotion to his calling but the tool-maker is as worthy of praise as the scholar whose work is made easier and more complete by the timely assistance of his unsung silent partner. And so we should like to record our heartfelt thanks to a great scholar who, by his painstaking devotion to his exacting profession, has added so many important tools to the professional kit of the learned writers, the historians, biographers, linguists, scientists and technologists who have used his many carefully

compiled and inclusive bibliographies over the years. We are sorry that he has retired but are fortunate that he has left us so many valuable aids to our research.

To quote from his *Introductory Note* to the present work: "The New York *Nation*, established in 1865, was for many years under the editorship of Edwin Lawrence Godkin, one of the leading journals of opinion and literary criticism in the United States. During much of the period covered by this index [1865–1917] the articles and reviews were generally unsigned, although many of the leading writers and moulders of opinion in this country and abroad were among its contributors. The identification of the authorship of many of these articles must of necessity be a valuable contribution to the bibliography of the period, bringing to light, as it does, many obscure and otherwise unknown contributions of well-known writers."

By searching the records of *The Nation*, a large proportion of which, fortunately, have been preserved, the compiler has identified thousands of these unsigned contributions and has painstakingly listed them in the two large, admirably arranged and well-printed volumes before us. The first volume is "a list of editorials, articles, reviews, and communications addressed to the editor, the authors of which have been identified. Consequently no signed articles have been included. The items listed have been arranged by volume and page in the order of their appearance, each item being followed by the contributor's name (enclosed within parentheses) at the end of the entry." This volume, the list of titles, fills 577 pages, double column, and consists of many thousands of entries. Volume II is "a list of contributors arranged alphabetically. Under each author his articles have been arranged in the order of their appearance. Both signed and unsigned contributions have been entered in this section. In both parts items without captions, mostly short paragraphs under the general heading of 'Notes,' have been given appropriate titles and indicated by being enclosed within brackets." This author catalogue fills 539 pages.

A cursory examination of the second volume will show the user how very important this work is to the literary historian, for it identifies the little-known contributions of hundreds of famous authors whose authorship of many of their more important short articles might otherwise have remained forever unknown. No better way of showing the importance of this work occurs to us than to list, more or less at random, a few of the important names in the author catalogue: Charles Francis Adams, Henry Adams, Charles McLean Andrews, William Archer, Adolph F. A. Bandelier, William Beebe, Bernhard Berenson, Gamaliel Bradford, James Henry Breasted, James Bryce, Charles William Colby, Jacob Dolson Cox, Abraham Flexner, Worthington C. Ford, Kuno Francke, Asa Gray, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Frederick Kapp, Joyce Kilmer, George Lyman Kittredge, Henry Charles

Lea, William Mac Donald, Simon Newcomb, Charles Eliot Norton, Francis Parkman, Solomon Reinach, Goldwin Smith, Leslie Stephen, Simeon Strunsky.

This is a necessary work for the great public library, the college and university library, the historical society, art library, for the literary historian, book and newspaper editor and for all scholars in the field of the humanities and natural sciences. Eight years of painstaking work went into this compilation and it should find wide recognition and use.

The New-York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

Early American Jewry. By Jacob Rader Marcus. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1951 and 1953. Vol. I, *The Jews of New York, New England and Canada 1649–1794*, xxviii + 301 pages, index. $3.50; Vol. II, *The Jews of Pennsylvania and the South 1655–1790*, xxi + 594 pages, index. $4.00.)

The tercentenary of Jewish group settlement of territory now part of the United States of America, which will be celebrated in 1954, has stimulated scholarship in the field. The present example, despite its disturbing form, is a contribution to the sum total of facts known about American life up to the 1790's and to the interpretation of these facts.

Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus, director of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati and professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, is the author of three volumes on European, chiefly German, Jewish history, but these are his first in the American field, to which he is now devoting himself.

The disconcerting form of Dr. Marcus's work arises from the fact that he has chosen to build his entire narrative of more than 500 pages around the full texts of 138 letters, 72 of which are published for the first time (the 75 pages on New Amsterdam and New York use 23 letters, fourteen of them new). The letters are personal, official, business, social and family, and contain much valuable information, but one cannot write a rounded, balanced history merely by providing elaborate connective tissue for the texts of letters. Hence the work is largely anecdotal and episodic. As such it may interest the uninformed layman (and even his taste would have been better served by summaries and quotations from the letters rather than their formidable-looking full texts), but the serious student will find the data of necessity best used as supplementary to more formal works in the field. Unfortunately for the latter reader, however, Dr. Marcus has avoided all documentation (except for reference notes citing the sources of the letters he prints) and has failed even to include a bibliography, although he borrows freely without acknowledgement from other works and, in at least one instance noted by the reviewer, he

breaches academic practice by using material still in manuscript without crediting the source. Considering the mass of detail he handles, the work contains very few errors of fact. The texts of the letters are, however, not faithful transcriptions of the originals, nor are they modernized as to spelling, punctuation or capitalization with any consistency. Occasional checking also revealed faulty readings, as when, transcribing a New York petition of 1710 by a Jewish minister claiming certain exemptions granted to ministers, Dr. Marcus reads one exemption as being "from boarding any office[r] civil or military" (I, 49), while the original reads: "from beareing any Office Civil, or Military. . . ."

As if to compensate for the random form of most of the work, Dr. Marcus has, in the second volume, added a 200-page interpretive section of unusual interest. Basing himself not only, fortunately, on the facts set forth in his narrative sections but on the whole available body of data in the field covered, Dr. Marcus concludes that, economically, the Jewish population had "always a relatively small wealthy upper-middle class" and that "the group in the lowest income bracket was large but not unduly so" (II, 428). The Jewish merchants "participated in the contribution which the commercial and merchant class made to American well-being. In a predominantly agricultural economy, on the outskirts of civilization and culture, they were, on the whole, competent and progressive merchants" (II, 421).

The relations of Jews to non-Jews in our country were in many respects significantly different from what they had been in Europe. "Jews in Europe were frequently kept Jewish by resentment. To a large degree, this situation did not obtain in the American colonies" (II, 494). Yet to a certain degree it did obtain, for the Jews were "conscious of the deprivation of certain rights and resentful, by the time of the Revolution, that such disabilities still persisted" (II, 502). Dr. Marcus properly hails the New York State Constitution of 1777, which granted full citizenship to Jews (but not to Catholics) as "the first emancipatory law in modern history" (II, 530), and he gives full weight to all the evidence of good relations, from the number of business partnerships of Jews and non-Jews, to intermarriage, to membership in the Masons and other organizations.

Yet, although he avoids the explicit conclusion, it is clear from his own evidence and occasional judgments of particular aspects of Jewish life here that the existence of anti-Semitism and Jewish awareness of anti-Semitic hostility and prejudice were key factors in molding the Jewish community.

Dr. Marcus also has many other observations and evaluations of Jewish economic life, of religio-communal organization, of cultural and philanthropic activity, of the process of "acculturation" and of the struggle for political equality. As the first such attempt in the literature of the field, Dr. Marcus is path-breaking. There is much room for discussion and dis-

pute of his judgments, especially because the form is summary and the documentation lacking. Nevertheless, next to the new texts published, the sobriety of the chapter (eight in Volume II) on Haym Salomon, and occasional new bits of information for the specialists, it is this interpretive section that is the most useful and provocative. Not only students of the Jewish people but of other originally immigrant national groups in our country will wish to examine and evaluate it.

New York City — Morris U. Schappes

Alexander Hamilton's Wife. A Romance of the Hudson. By Alice Curtis Desmond. Illustrated with Photographs and with Drawings by the Author. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1952. x + 273 pages, ports., illus., biblio., no index. $3.00.)

In this attractive volume the author has added another vivid and lifelike portrait to the series of pictures of the famous women of our early republic which she began with: *Martha Washington, Our First Lady* and *Glamorous Dolly Madison.* The task of re-creating the personality of Betsy Schuyler, wife of Alexander Hamilton, was the more difficult since she was not as famous as Martha nor as glamorous as Dolly. But she did have a lifetime of devotion to give her talented and handsome husband and she did move in the romantic circle of famous relatives and friends on the shores of the lordly Hudson and in the great and growing city at its mouth. Written, like the other two biographical novels, primarily for girls in their teens, this vivid portrayal of the social life of the times is not only an excellent biography of an attractive girl who has had no previous biographer but is a clear and accurate picture of the times in which she lived and is just as interesting for adults as for young people. It is based on the painstaking and careful studies of its scholarly author, many of them conducted in the library of our Society, and gives us not only a sympathetic story of the wife of our first Secretary of the Treasury and her engaging family but also a skillfully written example of excellent fiction. The story moves swiftly from the heroine's girlhood in the Schuyler mansion at Albany, through the Revolutionary War, largely fought in the neighborhood, to the beginning of the new republic under the guidance of her distinguished husband and the final tragedy of his death at the hand of Burr. Such a printer's error as *Powels* for *Powles Hook*, p. 215, does not detract from the charm of a most readable book, well printed and lavishly illustrated with 15 portraits, 15 exteriors and interiors of the houses mentioned, three other photographic illustrations and two charming sketches by the author. It should join the two previous biographies on the shelves of public, school and private libraries not only in New York State but throughout the land.

The New-York Historical Society — R. W. G. Vail

South Carolina, A Short History 1520–1948. By David Duncan Wallace. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951. Pages viii + 753, maps, charts, appendixes, biblio., index. $7.50.)

Dedicated scholars have been known to reap their rewards, even if their names have not been on everyone's lips, and their books in everyone's library. One such scholar was the late David Duncan Wallace, who gave up his life to teaching at Wofford College at Spartanburg, South Carolina. He wrote, as all specialists in Colonial history are well aware, the life of Henry Laurens, the leading businessman and one of the most prominent patriots of Charleston during the American Revolution. Perhaps because all-too-little attention is paid to Southern history, the very great virtues of this biography have never been given their due. But the day will come when Professor Wallace's *Laurens* will be set down as one of the truly remarkable additions to our knowledge and understanding of colonial times—as no less of an achievement than Van Doren's *Franklin.*

Meantime it is a privilege to take note of Professor Wallace's final contribution, this one-volume condensation of his three-volume history of South Carolina. Though it is not the easiest thing in the world to tell, in just one volume, all that has happened in that part of the world since Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon dropped anchor in Winyaw Bay on the 24th of June, 1521, the author has succeeded in saying something about nearly every aspect of South Carolina civilization without forgetting that his first responsibility was to forge a readable narrative.

Professor Wallace was loyal indeed to his native State, but his was no blind allegiance. "South Carolina," he thought, "should be ready for the self-criticism enabling her to profit by her past and so to make the future more fully what it should be." So he had no hesitation about referring to Calhoun's career as "one of the saddest tragedies in American history." And he admitted that "the abolitionist has been proved by the outcome to have understood the essential nature of the Negro as a human being better than did the slaveholder."

One gathers that one of the author's heroes was James L. Petigru, who stood firm for the Union in 1860. When told that Louisiana had seceded, Petigru was far from pleased. "Good lord, William, I thought we bought Louisiana," he reminded a friend. By fixing our attention on Petigru, on Gadsden, and on dozens of other controversial figures, Professor Wallace has made it plain that it is high time we re-examined the history of the South. For it is not half so simple a thing as many of us once thought.

The New-York Historical Society Wayne Andrews

Marines in the Central Solomons. By Major John N. Rentz, USMCR. ([Washington, D.C.:] Historical Branch, U.S. Marine Corps, 1952. vii + 186 pages, illus., maps, biblio., index. $2.75.)

Chivers' Life of Poe. Edited with an Introduction by Richard Beale Davis. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1952. 127 pages. $5.00.)

In 1857 the noted anthologist Rufus Griswold bequeathed to The New-York Historical Society two portraits by Samuel S. Osgood which illustrate a hitherto mysterious romance of American letters. The sitters were the poetess Fanny Osgood (wife of the artist) and Edgar A. Poe. The story of their romantic connection is now more fully revealed with the publication of the first complete edition of the *Life of Poe* by his eccentric friend, Dr. Thomas Holley Chivers.

Chivers tells us that Poe, under the influence of liquor, spoke of his "*amour*" with Mrs. Osgood, called her husband a fool, and asked Chivers for train fare ($10.00) to Providence to hear her lecture. Next day, according to Chivers, Poe asserted that the affair was purely Platonic, as it may well have been, but accepted the money and went to Providence anyway, asking Chivers not to tell Mrs. Poe about it. The Doctor indicates that Virginia Poe worshipped her husband, and makes it pretty clear that she bored him.

There is nothing in all this that does not fit in with the best evidence. After her introduction to Poe, Fanny Osgood indicated her admiration for him in a number of poems, printed over her own name or transparent pseudonyms, to which Poe replied in kind, though generally with less fervor. Fanny also published in *Graham's Magazine* a story called "Ida Grey," in which a young lady falls in love with a married man (closely resembling Poe), but eventually gives him up and retires into a convent. The convent part was, of course, pure fiction, but the heroine's name is suggestive of one of Poe's pseudonyms—E.S.T. Grey.

Mrs. E. F. Ellet, the redoubtable chronicler of American womanhood, seems to have been jealous of the popular and very pretty poetess and led a party of literary ladies to demand that Poe return Mrs. Osgood's letters. Elizabeth Ellet is remembered, if at all, as the compiler of the meritorious work, *Women of the American Revolution*, in which she had the assistance, according to Rufus Griswold, of several gentlemen who knew the subject better than she. She was a busy translator, essayist, playwright, and versifier of comparatively little merit. Having little originality, she was widely accused of plagiarism. Poe notices Mrs. Ellet in his "Autography" and in his "Literati," with subtle contempt. Since the *Dictionary of American Biography* suggests nothing but charity, sweetness and light in her character, it seems only fair to remark that there is printed record of much that shows her to have been a spiteful busybody, especially in the Griswold divorce case.

Meanwhile our *femme fatale*, Fanny Osgood, seems to have been flirting with others besides Poe. One of her coterie was Rufus Griswold, who remained for years so attached to her that he once fell in a fit from joy at arranging for a new edition of her poems. Still another suitor (not men-

tioned in the present volume)—"a merchant"—went so far as to try to eliminate Poe by telling Mrs. Osgood that the poet was a forger. Reaching the ears of Thomas Dunn English, this forgery accusation led to the famous libel suit in which Poe, who was bad pay but no cheat, was victorious. The story of this suit has recently been told by Professor Dedmond in *London Notes and Queries*, June 1953.

Although Mrs. Osgood eventually ceased to see Poe, it is pleasant to note that they always spoke kindly of each other. Far from Poe's having broken up the Osgood home, as has been suggested, it is possible that he merely was used to bring an erring husband to his senses by showing that his wife was attractive to more important men than himself. There is perhaps more than passing significance in the fact, discovered by this reviewer, that Mrs. Osgood's poem "Yes, Lower to the Level," a farewell to a faithless lover (presumably her husband), was first published in the New York *Evening Mirror* of December 10, 1844—only a short time before the commencement of the Poe-Osgood "affair." The poem ended with a promise of forgiveness, and the Osgoods were, in fact, later reconciled—on and off at least—during the rest of her life.

Now all this has more literary significance than may at first appear. Poe wrote poems to Fanny Osgood. Surviving him by less than two years, Mrs. Osgood, like Poe, made Rufus Griswold her literary executor. But she had Griswold insert in his Memoir some remarks on her beloved poet, not in the vein of her poem, "I know a noble heart that beats for one it loves how 'wildly well' . . . but I must never tell," but rather in a vein of "sober second thought." Emphasizing Poe's devotion to his wife, Fanny insisted that "Annabel Lee" must have been written in memory of Virginia Poe, although it would normally have been taken as a tribute to the poet's childhood sweetheart, Mrs. Shelton, to whom he was again engaged when it was written. Mrs. Osgood is also responsible for the identification of Poe with his Israfel, which of course reverses the poem's import, that men should do their own best and not envy angels.

Other little-known anecdotes told by Dr. Chivers include an account of his first meeting with Poe on June 30, 1845, when Chivers found that the poet had taken to his bed in order to avoid giving a poetry reading the next day before the literary societies of New York University. Poe's failure to appear on that occasion was noted by the New York *Tribune*. We read also of the intoxicated poet's attempt to pick a fight with L. G. Clark, editor of the *Knickerbocker*, and of his emerging from a saloon in company with a group of drunken revellers shouting "Long live the American Shakespeare!" This last absurdity is highly worthy the attention of those critics who fancy nobody respected the genius of Poe until the French told them about him.

Chivers also reveals Poe's opinions of various authors. Among poets, Poe rated Keats extremely high, and Bryant low. At least one reviewer has been saddened by Poe's confession that his opinions of Bryant in print

were a matter of respect. But Bryant's real reputation today rests on only three or four poems. What virtues he had were not of a kind to appeal to Poe, who disliked the unsubtly didactic and was no great lover of blank verse.

Because of his eccentricity, the validity of Dr. Chivers' factual reminiscences has been called in question. Eccentric though he was, however, Chivers was a man of great earnestness; so humorless, in fact, that he could write with all seriousness the following "elegiac" couplet:

Little Tommy,
Taken from me

Chivers' facts seem to me to bear upon them the seal of truth. I find only one unexpected remark—that Poe agreed that Beddoes had written some good plays. It is unlikely that Poe read Beddoes' work, which was little known in America before 1850, but even in this case Chivers may have brought up the subject and received a polite answer from Poe.

Professor Davis's edition of Chivers' *Life of Poe* has had a rather mixed reception. Parts of the book had been printed before; other parts consist of mystical critical remarks by Chivers which can be read with pleasure only by lovers of the ridiculous. Anything less than a complete edition would, however, have been suspect. Though nothing scandalous, save in a very minor degree, is recorded, any omissions would have raised a question that perhaps something had been "hushed up." It seems to me that Professor Davis has performed a valuable service to scholarship and deserves the thanks of all admirers of the author of *The Purloined Letter*.

Hunter College THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT

Names: Journal of the American Name Society (Published by the University of California Press, Berkeley 4, California, for the American Name Society), Vol. I, No. 1, March 1953, 72 pages. Distributed to members (annual dues, $5.00).

"*Names* is devoted to the dissemination of the results of study and research in the etymology, origin, meaning, and application of all classes of names—geographical, personal, scientific, commercial, popular." Under the editorship of Erwin G. Gudde, the first number of this new journal contains several items which give promise that the magazine may interest readers of this *Quarterly*. There is an article on "America—The Story of a Name," another on "Brooklyn from *Breukelen* and *Bruijkleen*," a discussion of Robert Southey's strictures in the *Quarterly Review* on Lewis and Clark's naming of rivers; an article for railroad enthusiasts on "Names of Trains"; and reviews of half a dozen books on American place names.. All success to this newly launched journal!

C.E.B.

Socialism and American Life. Edited by Donald D. Egbert and Stow Persons; T. D. Seymour Bassett, bibliographer. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, [Studies in American Civilization, No. 4], 1952. Vol. I, xiv + 776 pages; Vol. II, xiv + 575 pages, including biblio., illus., map, index. 2 vols. $17.50; separately $10.00.)

Backwoods Utopias; The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663–1829. By Arthur Bestor, Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, for the American Historical Association, 1950. xi + 288 pages, including appendix, biblio. footnotes and essay, index. $3.50.)

The Burned-over District; The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850. By Whitney R. Cross. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. xiii + 383 pages, including biblio. footnotes, maps and notes on maps, index. $5.00.)

Heavens on Earth; Utopian Communities in America, 1680–1880. By Mark Holloway. (New York: Library Publishers, 1951. xvi + 240 pages, including biblio. note, illus., map, index. $4.75.)

The People Called Shakers; A Search for the Perfect Society. By Edward Deming Andrews. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. xvi + 309 pages, including appendices, illus., index. $6.00.)

While attempting to delimit the vast area of mystery surrounding him, man has developed a cosmic philosophy which has slowly moved from the supernaturalistic to the naturalistic. In making the adjustment to this change, it may be said for the purposes of this review, western man has been travelling through the ages of religion, metaphysics, science and of anxiety. Such social beliefs as democracy and socialism, therefore, have shown corresponding adjustments to the cultural values predominating in these changing climates of opinion.

It is within such a matrix of change that the two-volume Princeton study *Socialism and American Life* is laid. Less pretentious than a definitive history, this fourth contribution to Princeton's "Studies in American Civilization" seeks to suggest new approaches in order to stimulate the study of American socialism in its world setting. Exhibiting the strengths and weaknesses of a symposium, the first volume, consisting of an introduction and fourteen essays on socialism, is followed by a volume of critical bibliographical essays. The first six essays of the symposium are historical: E. H. Harbison, H. W. Laidler and A. T. Mollegen trace, respectively, the beginnings of religious, secular and of scientific socialism in Europe to their migration to our nation. Pursuing them in their American development, Stow Persons and T. D. S. Bassett select, as the most

representative examples of religious and of secular utopian socialisms, respectively, the Shakers and the Oneida community and also Owenism, Fourierism, and Icarianism, leaving Daniel Bell to deal with the major varieties of Marxian socialism in the United States. American socialism is then represented from the points of view of philosophy by D. F. Bowers and by Sidney Hook, and of economics, politics, sociology, psychology, literature and art, respectively by P. M. Sweezy, Will Herberg, W. E. Moore, G. W. Hartmann, Willard Thorp and D. D. Egbert.

The volume is given structural unity mainly through its commendable introduction which, by means of a brief analysis, brings together the major varieties of socialism treated throughout the work. Its frame of reference is broad enough to include communism but too narrow to include state capitalism or most of the coöperative movements. The essays range in quality from those which, although competent, tend to become verbose, vague or prosaic to the succinct, scholarly and penetrating analysis by Professor Hook. In method, they range from those tracing the development of socialism in a single dimension to Professor Harbison's laudable three-dimensional study.

As only a general criticism of the work as a whole can be made here, it should be noted that the editorial policy adopted fails to give the symposium the integration which might have been achieved had a few central questions been determined upon. But the study has been brought into some sort of focus by a number of the contributors severally raising and answering the question of why socialism has failed in the United States. However, only those answers to this question which distinguish between the theory and practice of socialism and between the direct and indirect influences of socialism upon American life show a real grasp of the problem.

What overall interpretations the symposium has to offer have been made by contributors representing the democratic (anti-communist) socialist or the liberal non-socialist points of view. Reflecting the age of anxiety, the former group recognizes in extreme collectivism the danger of totalitarian regimentation while the latter group recognizes in extreme individualism the danger of anarchy.

Perceiving both the latter danger and that of a permanent war economy, Bell sees a new social structure evolving in the United States, which, operating within the bounds of "state capitalism, managerial society or corporative capitalism," seems to be moving toward some form of a "technical-military-administrative state."

Recognizing the dangers of extreme collectivism, two alternative philosophies of democratic socialism are offered by Herberg and Mollegen on the one hand and Sidney Hook on the other. The former give democratic socialism a theological foundation, Herberg grounding it broadly in the Judeo-Christian tradition and Mollegen in the specific tradition of Neo-Calvinism. Professor Hook has combined American

experimental pragmatism and secular humanism with Marxian realism. All three men believe that if democratic socialism has a future in the United States, some variant of their alternative or revisionist philosophies will be accepted. If these views are accepted by the socialists, Marxism will be absorbed by the American democratic faith. Perhaps this is what Bowers infers in noting the converging trends of American democratic socialism toward a radical humanism and of American democratic thought toward a less stereotyped individualism.

The ground covered by Professor Bestor in his *Backwoods Utopias* is indicated by its subtitle. His treatment of the sectarian phase of communitarianism is limited to tracing the source of the movement to the radical Protestantism of the Reformation and also to demonstrating how sectarianism helped both to create the communitarian tradition and to prove its economic practicability. His treatment of the Owenite phase of communitarianism includes three main objectives, namely: an examination of the ideas which impelled Robert Owen to attempt to solve the problems of a developing commercial and industrial society by means of a plan designed to transform that society into a rational and non-egalitarian one; a searching analysis of the causes of the failure of Owen's ill-fated experiment at New Harmony; and an assessment of the Owenite legacy. Owen's bequest, being a sort of cross-fertilization by communitarianism of such forces in American society as science, education, and crusades for gradual reform through democracy, is thus made independent of the outcome of the community experiments per se.

Bestor's study distinguishes communitarianism as a method of social reform from such alternative programs as eighteenth-century individualism, gradualism, and revolution, placing it in time as following the failure of nation-wide reform by revolution in France and as preceding the demonstrated possibilities of reform by gradual legislation. Weak in perspective and failing to supply an interpretation of the long-range significance of the communitarian movement in American history, Bestor's book should be supplemented by the reading of his article "Patent Office Models of the Good Society: Some Relationships between Social Reform and Westward Expansion," in the *American Historical Review* for April 1953, pages 505–526. From these two sources it may be seen that Bestor is heading in the direction of an interpretation of the movement as a whole which is diametrically opposite to those arrived at by Professor Harbison and by Toynbee, for example.

Harbison's three-dimensional Princeton essay, treating communitarianism as historically and organically related to modern socialism and the latter as dialectically related to modern individualism and to an emerging capitalistic economy, views Owenism as essentially medieval in character. Betraying, among other things, the same revulsion from rugged individualism and the same desire to turn the hands of the clock backward as Sir Thomas More's, Owen has merely modernized and

secularized medieval doctrine. Instead of coming to terms with the industrial revolution, as modern socialism was being forced to do, by expanding its scale of operations in order to meet the scale upon which the capitalistic economy was operating, and by adjusting to the emerging theories of historical evolution and of economic determinism, Owen (as Harbison sees him) clung to an outmoded conception of socialism. Harbison's interpretation, therefore, is similar to that of Toynbee who places utopian socialisms among the arrested civilizations that tried to peg their ideal societies at the level of one which has entered upon a decline.

Bestor's interpretation, on the other hand, tends to coincide with those contemporary appraisals which regarded the communitarian plan as forward-looking and the communitarians themselves as pathfinders and guides to the future. This Bestor accomplishes by evaluating communitarianism not in the terms of histories of socialism, communism, religion, or of the "ferment" of democratic ideas, nor even of utopianism, although he admits it was relevant to these different categories, but mainly in terms of the early nineteenth-century climate of opinion. He sees the postulates of communitarianism as identical with some of those which derived from the prevailing American democratic faith and with others which derived more specifically from the American westward movement. A comparison of these American postulates with those of communitarianism reveals that both groups were essentially optimistic, progressive and experimental—particularly in the political federative sense. The former even vitalized the latter, Bestor believes, because they made it possible for large numbers to be attracted to communitarianism as so many of its assumptions were things many Americans already believed.

The Burned-over District by Whitney R. Cross is an intensive microcosmic study roughly limited in subject, area, and time to the development of enthusiastic religion in New York State west of the Catskills and Adirondacks during the first half of the nineteenth century. Written from a liberal and social point of view, Cross's study not only traces the history of religious aberrations in a district burned over by one religious revival after another, but incidentally tests many currently accepted general interpretations of American history, including Turner's famous thesis, which, like Bestor, he helps to destroy.

Cross's method is unique in that he deals with emotional intensities which often run into the field of abnormal psychology. He attends the wedding of transplanted Yankee revivalism and benevolence in Rochester in 1830–31 and observes and evaluates the resultant emotionalism. Increased intensity and radicalism caused this emotionalism to rise until it reached that peak, known as ultraism, which favors experimental doctrines. It remained at this height but a short time before erupting into movements of individual and social regeneration. The isms it embraced included perfectionism, abolitionism, temperance and a host of minor social reforms. The radicalism of the reform movements and the heresy of

perfectionism, however, turned enough moderates into conservatives so that orthodoxy became strengthened and intensified. These internal strains, by heightening interdenominational rivalry, not only caused schisms in individual sects but also undermined reform movements and led to the defeat of the main object of revivalism, namely, the regeneration of increasing numbers of individuals.

When it was realized that a new era required new emphasis, the concept of reform became sufficiently broadened to cause it to turn in a more practical direction in the 'forties. But the inheritance of an ultraist state of mind kept each reform essentially an emotional proposition, a fad and a panacea. Cross notes two opposing tendencies in the ranks of the ultraists of the 'forties: those leading to fundamentalism and those leading to modernism. The adherents of the former, being essentially concerned with spiritual regeneration, were easy converts to Millerism; of the latter, being more practical and experimental, were inclined to Universalism, Fourierist communitarianism, Oneida perfectionism and the two pseudo-sciences of phrenology and mesmerism. The last, with Swedenborgianism to act as a catalytic agent, was later carried over into the new compound of spiritualism. The isms are described with a sympathetic understanding of that strange historical climate that existed between the ages of metaphysics and of science which can best be characterized as being predominately a blending of romantic idealism and of pre-scientific concepts. His sympathy has enabled Cross to arrive at a saner interpretation of many features of these pseudo-sciences and some of the more marginal reforms of the period than has hitherto been achieved.

Although Cross sees one wing of religious enthusiasm as building a path toward the modern concepts of liberal religion, he holds ultraism heavily responsible for its own demise. Sympathetic to the unparalleled courage displayed by the radical zealots—and to "courageous noncomformity" in general—he nevertheless believes they failed to help mankind make any substantial progress toward Utopia. The cause of their failure Cross traces to the fact that their emotional heritage prevented them from grasping realistically the broad problems of an entire society. As this adverse criticism strikes at the Fourierist communitarians, Cross tends, in so far as he develops the subject, to favor the interpretations of Harbison and of Toynbee rather than of Bestor regarding the communitarian movement.

If Cross could write with some of the ease and evident enjoyment that Mark Holloway displays and Holloway had more of the research ability implicit in Cross's study, *Heavens on Earth* might have enhanced our understanding of American utopian communitariansm and Cross's scholarly study might have been less difficult to read.

That Edward Andrews has been able successfully to revive, in *The People Called Shakers*, much of the quaint atmosphere of the world in which this early sect lived is due mainly to the author's genuine sympathy

for his subject and to his rich mosaic of quotations. For Andrews lets the Shakers speak for themselves. The extensive use of primary material, much of it new, greatly enriches our knowledge of Shaker culture, but it scarcely changes the assessment of Shakerism that Stow Persons has made in his thumbnail sketch of that movement in his Princeton essay. Nor, in the opinion of this reviewer, has Andrews integrated this culture with the changing climates of opinion through which it moved to the degree that Persons has.

If, as these various studies tend to reveal, the American democratic faith has continually demonstrated a notable capacity to drain off radical impulses of social protest by infusing them with its own principles, these same impulses have nevertheless significantly enriched our cultural heritage.

The New-York Historical Society E. Marie Becker

The Streets of Old New York. By J. Ernest Brierly. (New York: Hastings House, 1953. 127 pages, 60 pen-and-ink drawings by the author. $2.50.)

This little volume describes some of the public buildings and habitations which lined the streets of old New York from the time of the Dutch settlement to the middle of the 19th century. Employing an attractive set of his own drawings, based largely on original material, the author accompanies each with a descriptive paragraph written in a simple direct style. The book should stimulate the interest of an audience not already acquainted with this city's past.

The New-York Historical Society Betty Ezequelle

Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West, 1865–1896. By Horace Samuel Merrill. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. viii + 300 pages, illus., biblio., index. $4.50.)

"One of the most influential political groups in America's madly surging industrial advance," Mr. Merrill writes (p. 2), "was the Bourbon Democracy of the Middle West. This was a cabal of industrialist-financier entrepreneurs operating within the Democratic party. Its task was to occupy the only really vulnerable outpost in the political-economic empire of big business, the discontented agrarian Middle West. This book is a record of the Bourbon Democracy's tactics, successes, and failures in carrying out its assignment to sit on the lid of farmer and wage-earner opposition. It is a record of embittering, frustrating defeats for those people who looked to the Democracy to distribute more equitably the fruits of the industrial-financial advance. It is the story of a thirty years' war between industrial-financier large capitalists and farmer-laborer small capitalists."

American Gun Makers. By Col. Arcadi Gluckman, USA (Ret.), and L. D. Satterlee. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Co., 1953. 243 pages, foreword and biblio. $6.00.)

A "new, enlarged and completely revised" edition of the book originally published in 1940, this edition comprises the original entries brought up to date, along with the contents of the 1949 *Supplement* and many new items, including Confederate arms-makers and U.S. Arms Inspectors. The imprecision of the bibliography, which includes such entries as "ANTIQUES—Magazine articles," is especially regrettable since the text entries are otherwise undocumented.

D.H.W.

Township 34: A History, with Digressions, of an Adirondack Township in Hamilton County in the State of New York. By Harold K. Hochschild. (New York: [The Author,] 1952. xxvi + 614 pages, illus., maps, biblio., index. For private distribution.)

In this handsomely printed, well-illustrated volume Mr. Hochschild and his collaborator, Linda H. Morley, have assembled a vast amount of historical detail on a tiny section of the Adirondacks. Its is primarily the story of three lakes—Eagle, Blue Mountain and Utowana—of their absentee owners and the inhabitants of their shores (including "Ned Buntline" of dime-novel fame), of the changing conditions of travel on the main routes to the region, of the days when Blue Mountain Lake was one of the most flourishing of America's woodland resorts, and of the great days of the Adirondack lumber boom. "Much of it," the author writes, "will interest only those who live or have lived in Township 34 or nearby settlements," but it will also have enduring value as a source book for the social and economic history of New York State in the 19th and early 20th century.

D. H. W.

Masterpieces of Furniture in Photographs and Measured Drawings. By Verna Cook Salomonsky. (New York: Dover Publications, 1953. 101 plates with text, biblio. $6.00.)

Originally published (1931) under the title, *Masterpieces of Furniture Design*, "this new edition is completely reset and has been printed from a new set of plates. Corrections have been made and a Bibliography has been added." Students of furniture design will find the critical bibliography particularly useful.

American Constitutional Custom: A Forgotten Factor in the Founding. By Burleigh Cushing Rodick. (New York: Philosophical Library, c. 1953. xx + 244 pages, notes, biblio., index. $4.75.)

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

THE TITLE PAGE we mailed last July to members and subscribers for their convenience in binding into one volume, if they desired, the four numbers of the 1952 *Quarterly* with the 1952 *Annual Report* brought a surprising number of queries as to its purpose. One bewildered recipient wrote that "this interesting copy of your Annual Report reminds me of a story about Henry Ward Beecher" whose comment upon an April 1st "letter" bearing only the words *April Fool* was: "I have often heard of a man writing a letter and forgetting to sign his name but this is the first time I have known of a man signing his name and forgetting to write the letter." As a matter of fact, the Society has been providing such title pages during the past half-dozen years in response to many requests from librarians and others who like to tidy up their periodicals into bound volumes, without ever before bewildering anybody. We shall continue this service but hereafter will enclose the title page with the *Annual Report*, hoping its recipients will understand the use for which it is designed.

During July a Friday-morning story hour—the second season of such programs conducted by the New York Public Library in the Society's garden—attracted about 150 children with their group leaders. On September 22d President Beekman accepted for the Society a Belgian tapestry depicting the Walloons landing on Manhattan Island in 1624. The presentation ceremonies are described herein, page 309.

During October and November a series of nine feature films will be shown in the auditorium on Saturday afternoons at 2:00 o'clock. Selected to illustrate "The New York Theme," the films all have Manhattan settings, including such fine productions as "Mr. Deeds Goes to Town," "Miracle on 34th Street," "Little Old New York," and "The Naked City." The exhibition relating to "The Healing Art in Old New York," which opened last June, will be continued through November 15th and the Charles Lennox Wright exhibition of early zinc-etching and half-tone processes through December 31st to accommodate members who were away during the summer. Other activities open to members and guests during this final quarter of the year are:

October 6: Lecture for members and guests by Mr. Charles F. Montgomery, Associate Curator of the Winterthur Collections, on "American Art and History as Depicted in the Henry Francis Dupont Winterthur Museum."

November 4: Lecture for members and guests by Mr. Irving S. Olds, Fourth Vice-President of the Society, on "Bits and Pieces of American Naval History." Opening of a special "Wintertime" exhibition which will continue through February 15th.

December 4: Lecture for members and guests by Professor Charles W. Jones of Cornell University on St. Nicholas, to be followed by the traditional refreshments and music in Dexter Hall and a preview of a special Christmas exhibition.

December 19: Opening of a special exhibition, "Bridging the East River," to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Williamsburg Bridge to the public on December 19, 1903.

The New-York Historical Society is pleased to announce the publication on October 15th of a two-volume work, in a special edition limited to 300 copies, entitled:

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS
AND AMERICAN ART-UNION

1816–1852

Vol. I: *Introduction*, xiv + 311 pages, illustrated
Vol. II: *Exhibition Record*, vi + 504 pages, frontis., index

by

Mary Bartlett Cowdrey
Assistant Director, Smith College Museum of Art

With a history of the American Academy by Theodore Sizer, *Professor of the History of Art, Yale University; a history of the American Art-Union by* Charles E. Baker, *Editor, The New-York Historical Society; an analysis of the "Sale of Art-Union Holdings, 1852," by* Malcolm Stearns, Jr., *Wesleyan University; and a Foreword by* James Thomas Flexner, *historian of American art.*

Two Large Volumes, Illustrated,
Buckram-Bound, Gold Stamped, $7.50
Discount price to members and libraries: $6.00
[Make checks payable to The New-York Historical Society]

In his Foreword, Mr. Flexner points out that, because the American Academy and the American Art-Union "were channels through which flowed much of the artistic activity of the times," these volumes present "documentation for studies in almost every aspect of American culture throughout the period covered. . . . Indeed, students of many fields other than art will find here source material. . . . The work will become, the moment it is released, a valuable foundation stone in the study of American culture. Innumerable later works will be indebted to it for insights that their authors would otherwise have missed."

Professor Sizer's history of "The American Academy of the Fine Arts" now does for that Academy what Thomas Cummings did for its offshoot

in his *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design.* But it does so with greater charm and with sound scholarship. It brings the mother institution to life again in yearly chronicles covering the entire span from its inception in 1801 to the death of its long-time president, the patriot-artist Col. John Trumbull, in 1843. Professor Sizer has also done yeomen service in compiling the membership of the American Academy, with dates of election and other identification for Patrons, Honorary Members, Academicians, and Associates.

Mr. Baker's chapters provide the first comprehensive study of "The American Art-Union"—an institution of which Mr. Flexner says: "Historians of our culture have an affection for this organization which seems, of all those the nation has produced, the one that was best designed to put American artistic activity on a healthy basis." These chapters show how the Art-Union placed art-patronage on a democratic basis; how, in multiplying the number and productivity of American artists, it "turned both popular taste and creative endeavor more consciously toward those manifestations of the 19th-century American School which in modern judgments have been most valued"; why its permanent free gallery "elicited a keener interest among a greater proportion of the population than has any other museum or gallery of art over an equal period at any time before or since, anywhere in America"; how it "encouraged the people to regard painting not as awesome objects of virtue suitable only for the rich and for museums, but as pleasures that ordinary citizens could enjoy as they hung on the walls of simple living rooms"; and why, after the Art-Union had succumbed to "an irrelevant legal attack," many Americans "looked back regretfully to Art-Union days as to a golden age of American art."

Miss Cowdrey, in a comprehensive bibliographical essay, records and analyzes the "Publications of the American Art-Union" and Professor Stearns lists for each artist the pictures auctioned by the Union to close its activities in 1852, showing what price the Art-Union had paid for each, who purchased it and at what price.

Miss Cowdrey's Exhibition Record of the American Academy and the American Art-Union lists alphabetically by artist all the works each exhibited, year by year, at either institution and shows the owner or recipient of each work. A 76-page index of artists, owners, places, and subjects makes reference to this material quick and certain. Together with her two-volume *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1826–1860*, which the Society published ten years ago (and of which a few copies are still available at $6.00 a set), this work constitutes a reliable record of what was being painted in America during the half century before the Civil War—"a panoramic view of the artistic activity of the times." It will prove an indispensable reference work for art historians, collectors, dealers, museum officials, reference librarians, and anyone else interested in the 19th-century development of American painting and sculpture and of the cultural climate in which it took place.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

DOUBLE WOVEN coverlet made by A. Allen, Ohio, 1840. *Gift of Mrs. Frederick B. Adams, Jr.*

Engraving showing Dr. Bangs, the donor's grandfather, preaching at a Sing Sing (Ossining) camp meeting; Martha J. Lamb's *History of the City of New York,* expanded to four volumes by the insertion of 107 extra plates. *Gift of Miss Mary W. Bangs.*

Sketch book of watercolors and pencil drawings made by Mrs. Charles Keller. *Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman.*

Eighty-six volumes and 17 pamphlets; 83 issues of *The Printer's Voice,* 1934–1935; J. Calvin Smith's Map of the State of New York, 1840. *Gift of Mr. Milton L. Benson and Mrs. Mildred Strauss, children of the late Milton L. Bernstein.*

Oil portrait, artist unknown, of Charles Morgan (1795–1878), founder of the Morgan Steamship Line from New Orleans and great-uncle of the donors; a memorial volume on Charles Morgan; Smith & Wesson revolver, World War I hand grenade, five medals; 23 World War I posters; and two booklets. *Gift of the Misses Irene and Emily Brannan.*

Papers and Minutes of the Zenger Memorial Fund, incorporated 1942, including minutes of meetings; pictures of murals and dioramas relating to John Peter Zenger; publications about him and his *New York Weekly Journal. Gift of Mr. James Wright Brown, President of the Zenger Memorial Fund, Inc.*

Collection of Jules Leroux's publications, including 19 announcements and newspapers of the Icarian community, Iowa; 48 issues of *L'Étoile du Kansas,* 1873–1876; 64 issues of *L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa,* 1876–1880; and 23 issues of *L'Étoile des Pauvres,* 1881–1883. *Gift of Dr. Gilbert Chinard.*

Hair wreath made by Martha A. Rice, mother of the donors, in 1862; silver medal awarded by the Northern Ohio Fair Association for the best display of hair work. *Gift of Miss Nellie S. Cobleigh and the late Henry Rice Cobleigh.*

Fifteen photographs, by the donor, of the Dewey Arch, New York City, of individuals, and of family treasures. *Gift of Mr. Clarence Russell Comes.*

Ten letters, on pictorial hotel stationery, addressed to the Reverend George Alexander, 1891–1902; three photographs taken by the donor in New York City, May 1953. *Gift of Mr. Arthur W. Courtney.*

Twenty bound volumes of *Scientific American,* 1859–1866. *Gift of Mr. Morris Curtis.*

Eight passenger lists, six posters, four maps, and 67 guidebooks and pamphlets. *Gift of Mr. Simon Dannenberg.*

Charcoal and crayon drawing of the Schuyler children by Martin, 1851. *Gift of Mrs. John A. Dix.*

Collection of newspaper clippings about historical landmarks and events in New York City. *Gift of Miss Gladys L. Dudley.*

Bronze medal of the 50th Anniversary of the Berwind-White Coal Company, 1936, made by Tiffany. *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Music book, 1846, which belonged to Mary D. McIlvaine, the donor's mother. *Gift of Mrs. Montgomery Hare.*

Colored lithograph of the steamboat *Rhode Island;* colored lithograph by Currier & Ives, 1883, of "The Grand New Steamboat *Pilgrim*, flagship of the Fall River Line." *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esquire.*

Cup and saucer from a service given by Japan to Lieutenant (later Commander) Oliver S. Glisson (1809–1890), who served on the U.S.S. *Powhatan* under Commodore Matthew C. Perry, July 1853. *Gift of Colonel Montifiore G. Kahn.*

Collection of late 19th-century concert and theater programs. *Gift of Miss Lydia C. Kirkpatrick.*

Cuban machete and scabbard picked up on the battlefield by Second Lieutenant Russell C. Langdon. *Gift of Brigadier General Russell C. Langdon.*

Oil portrait of Cyrus W. Field (1819–1892) by Oliver I. Lay, 1885, from the original by Daniel Huntington. *Gift of the artist's son, Mr. Charles Downing Lay.*

Forty-five manuscripts from the Chancellor Robert R. Livingston collection, including 25 letters from Robert Fulton. *Gift of Mrs. Goodhue Livingston.*

Early vacuum cleaner; 18th-century glass demi-john; 111 numbers of *The Engineering Magazine*, 1892–1901; collection of leaflets, circulars, and invitations of The Century Association, 1932–1951. *Gift of Mrs. DeWitt M. Lockman.*

Saddle, bridle, breast plate and spurs used at the Battle of Gettysburg by Major General James Barnes, the donor's grandfather; side saddle and trunk which belonged to the donor. *Gift of Mrs. Shelton E. Martin.*

Diploma from the Rutgers Female Seminary, 1856, of Amelia L. Schwarzwaelder (later Mrs. Francis Spies), the donor's mother. *Gift of Mrs. Fancher Nicoll.*

Two hundred eighty-three amateur periodicals; two volumes of *The Fossil*, 1934–1944. *Gift of Mr. Beecher Ogden.*

Collection of letters to the donor from members of the Roosevelt family and others, including 23 letters from Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr. (Edith Kermit), 1935–1948, and 11 letters from Mrs. Richard Derby (Ethel Roosevelt), 1930–1945. *Gift of Mrs. Laurent Oppenheim.*

Miniature of Mrs. Jonathan Swift (Ann Roberdeau, 1767–1833), great-grandmother of the donor, by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Miss Grace W. Patten.*

Daguerreotype of Mrs. Eugene Van Rensselaer (Sarah Pendleton), and photograph of Eugene Van Rensselaer, dated April 25, 1866. *Gift of the Marchesa Anna Pellegrini-Quarantotti.*

Oil painting of South Street, New York City, by Victor Perard, 1906. *Gift of Victor Perard, the artist.*

Five oil portraits: Benjamin Youngs Prime, M.D. (1733–1791), by J. Yaere (?), 1774; Reverend Nathaniel Scudder Prime (1785–1856) and Mrs. Nathaniel S. Prime (Julia Ann Jermain, 1789–1874) by an unidentified artist; Braheem Effendi by F. Schlegel, 1857; and General Ralph Earl Prime (1840–1920) by Jason Salgany (?), 1915. *Gift of Mr. Benjamin L. Prime.*

Seven commissions of Major General Richard Delafield, as second lieutenant in 1820 to major general by brevet in 1866, with two tin despatch boxes. *Gift of Mrs. F. de Lancey Robinson (Grace Floyd Delafield).*

Lithograph by N. Currier, 1845, of "Loss of the Steamboat Swallow." *Gift of Dr. Irving Wilson Voorhees.*

Police Captain's billy picked up by the donor's father after a riot in Brooklyn in the 1880's. *Gift of Mr. Louis C. Wills.*

Five posters and seven programs of the Morrisania Minstrels, 1853–1858; eight periodicals and nine newspapers. *Gift of Mrs. Lester M. Woodruff, her sisters and brother, in memory of their father, Rudolph A. Hoffman.*

Forty-six family letters, notes, bills and clippings relating to the donor's Whitney and Wright ancestors; inlaid box for love letters made by Charles Washington Wright, the donor's grandfather, *c.* 1844, with other mementoes. *Gift of Mr. Charles Lennox Wright II.*

Watercolor portrait of Susannah Shannon probably by John W. Jarvis; silhouette portrait of Mrs. Sarah Gallop; mother-of-pearl casket containing miniature sewing kit; twelve photographs of New York City, 1908–1916, by Arthur Chapman. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

TAX DEDUCTIONS FOR GIFTS AND BEQUESTS

The New-York Historical Society qualifies as an educational institution to which life-time gifts of money or property or devises or bequests under a will may be deducted for income or estate tax purposes to the extent permitted by law.

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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